MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,

SECOND MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY.

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EDITED BY

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MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

VOL. II.

he was traced to London, resolved on going for France, and took Quigley as his interpreter: he got a subscription made to pay Quigley's expences, and collected twenty-five guineas, fifteen of which were given by a Mr. Bell, of the City, (summoned on the trial of O'Connor), and ten guineas by Chambers, of Abbey Street, Dublin, who has been this long time in London, keeping up a correspondence (as I believe) between Lewins, &c.

M'Mahon and Quigley went over to Cuxhaven, thence directly for Holland, were on board the fleet, and, when the expedition went off, proceeded to Paris. They there found Lewins, but could get no satisfactory answers from him relative to his communications with the French Government. A quarrel was the consequence; and Quigley was despatched privately by M'Mahon to London, to get some one sent over to represent the Patriots of both nations, and to replace Lewins. A paper drawn up by Benjamin Binns, and which they had

extravagant designs that ever entered the sanguine imagination even of an Irishman. Without money, without arms, without force—for it appeared that not more than fifty or sixty individuals, consisting of private soldiers, artisans of the lowest class, and day-labourers, were engaged in his conspiracy,—he aimed at nothing less than the murder of the King, and the overthrow of the Government. Their meetings were held in obscure public-houses, where treasonable oaths were administered. Towards the end of the year 1802, the conspirators, deeming their plans sufficiently matured, fixed a day for attacking the Tower; and it was resolved that the grand blow should be struck on the 16th of November, when the King intended to open the new session of Parliament; of which circumstance the wretches seriously resolved to avail themselves for destroying his Majesty, by gaining possession of the great gun on the Parade before the Horse Guards in St. James's Park, loading it with chain-shot, and firing it at his Majesty's carriage as it passed on his return to St. James's. Their proceedings were cut short by the apprehension of Despard and about thirty of his accomplices. Twelve of the latter, with their leader, were brought to trial on February 7, 1803, and their guilt being fully established, he and six of his ignorant dupes were executed with the formalities usual in cases of treason on the 21st of February, at Horsemonger Gaol.

brought over to sketch out something from, was made no use of; but Tom Paine told Quigley he might assure the English that France only made war against their Government. Quigley returned with Mumphort. M'Mahon has about £300 sterling property remitted him by Charles Rankin, of Belfast: this he means to employ in buying a farm. Tired of politics, especially those of France, he is to write to Citoyen Jean Thomas à la Poste restante, à Hamburg, whom he looks on as a good patriot.

Hamilton, nephew to Russel, who is in prison in Ireland, came over for fear of being taken up in London. He and one Bailey, nephew of Colonel Bailey, sailed together, the 6th of April, from Gravesend, in a vessel going to Holland, but cleared out for Hamburg. The captain took them gratis. Bailey stayed hostage at the Hague whilst Hamilton came to Paris, to make himself known to his countrymen, and send thence a passport for his colleague; arrived in Paris the 17th, with twelve livres in his pocket: met Lewins at Brussels, who promised to procure the passport for Bailey. Bailey has some money, is a half-pay officer, came lately from Ireland, has an account of the forces in the different parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

Macin, a farmer's son in the County of Louth, went with the two Byrnes, as likewise

Burgess, a young man from Drogheda, speaks of returning.

Lowry, well-known; at present, very ill.

Teeling, ditto, had a letter from ——, whom he met in London, to the Abbé Sieyes, and one from a person of the name of Webb, in King Street, to Tom Paine.

O'Finn and his wife went over about Christmas, more to avoid his creditors, and had no money but a bill on Ireland, which had nine or ten months to run—applied to Buonaparte to give him cash for it; appears to be either a fool or knave. His wife is English, is coming over, and will bring some papers.

Colonel Tandy is actually starving, having sold his buckles and most of his clothes. Lewins has swindled him out of £50, and Government there will do nothing for him.

Muir got some thousand livres—it is said ten thousand livres—that's almost gone. He has with him a young man of the name of Smyth, a gunmaker, from the same place in Scotland, and fled about five years ago; expects to be sent over in about three weeks on mission by the French Government.

Jennings, a cousin but passes for a nephew of General Kilmaine's, lives with the General.

P. Herne, known.

Lewins, ditto, has no money.

J. Orr, ditto, has received a remittance of £500.

M'Shicky, an officer of some merit, was under Tone, but they fell out. He is gone to Toulon with one Lewis, an American.

Tone is at Rouen, where there's about 4000 men and ten or twelve gun-boats building.

Tennent received £2500 of remittance—he instantly cut his countrymen, and went with one Thomas Wilson to ——, where they have made a purchase. When the French heard of this remittance, both Buonaparte and Barras sent for him, but took no further notice than merely speaking to him a few words of common conversation. Part of the money belongs to the Simmses, of Belfast, part to his brother, and £700 to himself.

Maguire, a friend of Tone's, was sent to Ireland to give the account of Hoche's coming.

Duckett, Secretary to Leonard Bourdon.

Cary, frightened to America by Lord Carhampton—brother to the priest who was in the Executive Committee—arrived the 3rd or 4th of May from Hamburg with Duckett, who was then applying for passports for one Murphy, lately expelled Dublin College, and one Orr, a relation of him that was hanged: they are now at Altona.

O'Mely, an Irishman, citizen of America, went with Lewins to the Hague, is on mission now either in England or Ireland —a rich man, and a great friend of Tom Paine's.

A person of the name of Est, or East, son of a clergyman in London;[1] brought over from Paris Tom Paine's letter to Erskine, and got it printed—Paine told me so.

Colonel Despard, a Mr. Bonham, young Lawless, and Robert Simms, are the only persons in whom the Irish at Paris said I ought to place any confidence, in case I either wrote or came to England or Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Phœnix Park, November 19, 1798.

My dear Sir—Tone died this morning of his wound.[2]

A writ has been moved to bring up Moore, the Rebel President of the Connaught Directory, now confined at Castlebar.

[1] The Rev. Charles Este, one of the Reading Chaplains at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall: he had at one time a share in the conduct of the Morning Post and the World newspapers.

[2] Sir John Moore, who was actively engaged in suppressing the rebellion, in speaking of the leaders, bestows the following notice on Tone:—

"The day before I left Dublin Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone was brought in prisoner, taken on board the Hoche in the action of the 12th of October. I endeavoured to see him, but he was conveyed to the Provost prison before I reached the Castle. He is said to have been one of the principal and first framers of the United Irish. He is the son of a coachmaker in Dublin, but was educated at the College for a lawyer; and, by some writings which are said to be his, he appears to have been a man of considerable talent.

"He was tried by a court-martial at the barracks the day after his arrival, where, I understand, he conducted himself with great firmness and manliness. He had prepared a speech, part of which only he was permitted to read, the rest being considered inflammatory. He admitted the charge of coming in arms as the leader of a French force, to invade Ireland; but said it was as a man banished, amputated from all natural and political connexion with his own country, and a naturalized subject of

It is intended that a special return should be made to the writ. The Counties of Mayo, Wicklow, and Wexford, are still so disturbed, that it is impossible, with any effect, to send the King's commission into them: nothing but martial authority can repress the daring outrages of the Rebels, who still infest those counties. We must struggle on as well as we can, till the meeting of Parliament. Nothing, however, but a legislative provision can solve the difficulty to which we are exposed.

The despatch received from England yesterday will soon give us something to do. The opponents of the Union only wait for Government to take the first step. The Lord-Lieutenant was to see Lord Shannon this morning, and to-morrow several of the principal persons in town. We shall endeavour to have this question stated to the public in such a way, as will

France, bearing a commission of the French Republic. He produced his commission constituting him adjutant-general in the French service, his orders, &c. He said he knew, from what had already occurred to the officers, natives of Ireland, made prisoners on this expedition, what would be his fate: on that, however, he had made up his mind. As to the sentence of the court, which he so fully anticipated, he had but one wish, that it might be inflicted within one hour; but the only request that he had to make to the court was that the mode of his death might not degrade the honour of a soldier. The French army did not feel it contrary to the dignity or the etiquette of arms to grant a similar favour to emigrant officers taken on returning under British command, to invade their native country, and who had obtained their request of being shot by files of grenadiers. A like fate was the only favour he had to ask; and he trusted that men susceptible of the nice feelings of a soldier's honour would not refuse his request.

"Next morning it was found that he had endeavoured to avoid public execution by an attempt to kill himself. He was discovered with his windpipe cut across. His execution was necessarily postponed. A motion has since been made in the Court of King's Bench by Mr. Curran for a habeas corpus, directed to the keeper of the Provost Marshalsea, to bring the body of T. W. Tone, with the cause of his detention. This is so far fortunate, as it is to stop for the future all trials by court-martial for civil offences, and things are to revert to their former and usual channel."

give a tone to our friends and literary advocates. The Bar is disposed to be very hostile: the more intemperate have wished to take it up in their military capacity; proper steps have been taken to counteract this, and I hope with effect. It would leave Government no other alternative but to disarm the corps. The question is very little understood; of course, much feared. It is very fortunate that our Parliament is not sitting, as there will be time for considering the subject before it is brought into discussion. I shall from time to time send you whatever occurs on this most interesting subject, so important to the future interests of both countries.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Cleveland Square, November 23, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—You will have thought me a sad truant in point of correspondence; but some private business which I have left for a long while unsettled obliges me to be much in the country, and I have depended on Lord Camden for supplying you with intelligence.

The Speaker is still adverse to a Union, and, from all I hear, I think it dubious whether he will not entirely oppose it. Parnell, I understand, talks very loosely on the subject, but, on the whole, seems unfriendly to the measure.

In consequence of the numerous difficulties in which the arrangement is involved, I shall not be surprised if the project of a Union is in the end abandoned: and, as Mr. Pitt has chosen to make the attempt upon the *narrow* basis, my regret at the dereliction of it will be much diminished.

Camden says that it appeared to be the wish of the Ministers that you should come to England, and that the Duke of Portland promised to write on this point to the Lord-Lieutenant. The Duke, however, I find, has not yet done it, but I reminded him of it to-day.

Farewell. I have not time to add a word more. In the course of the next or the succeeding post, I will explain to you the state of my feelings with respect to remaining another Session in Ireland. If the Union is persevered in on the plan proposed, I am afraid it will be impossible for me to continue without much embarrassment to myself and injustice towards those with whom I am to act.

Believe me, with the truest affection, &c.,

W. E.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald.

Phœnix Park, November 21, 1798.

My dear Sir—From the great personal regard I entertain for you, and the anxious desire I have that the King's Government should have the advantage of your assistance, at a critical period, and in a measure of the last importance, I take the earliest opportunity of intimating to you, in the strictest confidence, that the incorporation of the two countries by a Legislative Union is seriously looked to as the best security of our future peace and for the preservation of our present Establishments.

The subject is beyond the compass of a letter. If your mind has not already entertained this proposition with preference, I feel confident that you will consider it with the temper and candour which so great a question deserves. I should wish much to have an opportunity of communicating with you personally, and of explaining the general outline of the measure. I shall only at present assure you, that no other motive than a consideration of local as well as Imperial security weighed upon the minds of His Majesty's Ministers in looking to this arrangement, so their views in respect to Ireland, in the detail of the plan, in the great points of Representation, Trade, and Revenues, are as liberal as the best friend to this country would wish.

I beg you will consider this letter as written in the strictest confidence for your own eye only.

I am, my dear sir, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham.

Phœnix Park, November 22, 1798.

My dear Sir—As the Duke of Portland will naturally be anxious to learn the manner in which the officers of the English Militia are impressed on the question of their return, and as there is considerable danger that the opinions which have been very freely stated by them may reach the men and direct their conduct, I think it necessary to be the more particular in my communications on this subject. When I last wrote, I did hope that the only question that could possibly arise was, whether the Regiments who volunteered to serve in Ireland subsequent to the passing of the Act made that offer in contemplation of the limited duration of the Acts; if so, they could not in justice be bound beyond the intention of the tender made: and, in this case, it would seem necessary to admit their claims, and appeal to their zeal rather than legal authority, for a continuance of their service. I am sorry, however, to find that a considerable proportion of the officers defend this opinion, and maintain that the whole body have a right to demand their recal at the expiration of the present Act. I have had communication with some of the gentlemen who entertain this sentiment, and they reason thus: they state that the English Militia offered their services for the emergency of the Rebellion, not for the general defence of Ireland during the war; that the men, having this impression on their mind, naturally have looked for some definite termination of their service here, the obvious period of which seems to be either the suppression of the Rebellion, or the expiration of the Act.

It is necessary to observe that, in point of fact, I have no grounds to believe that this reasoning originated with the men. I have asked these officers whether they did not offer their services generally to the King for the suppression of the Rebellion, and for the defence of an important member of the Empire against the foreign enemy. They assume that the Rebellion is suppressed, and that France has abandoned all intention of invading Ireland. Denying all these facts, I put it to them, as a question of common sense, whether a private soldier was competent to decide this point; or whether he obviously had not, by the spirit of his offer, surrendered this discretion to the Crown, to be exercised by His Majesty under the control of Parliament. If the suppression of the Rebellion gave the Militia soldier a legal right to be sent back, of which fact he himself was to be the judge, the claim was destructive of all discipline, and they could not have answered for their men on parade, any one morning since the insurgents had found it impossible to assemble in force. If this principle was indefensible, that which was founded on the duration of the Act could as little be maintained. The Act was not introduced when this offer was made, and its limitation was a restriction placed by Parliament, not by the troops, in the King's power of employing them in this kingdom.

Not being able to contest the point of law, they rely upon the fact that it is so understood by the men, and that they expect either to be sent back, or again applied to for a further offer of service. Whether it is so at present or not, there is every reason to apprehend that this may be their impression, from the extent to which it has obtained amongst the officers. The dilemma with them arises, either to contest the question upon a principle of authority, in which there is a risk of being opposed, or, at best, feebly supported by the officers, or of being driven to a fresh communication with the men whose decision it is impossible to foresee.

Were the British Militia to press their recal, there is every

reason to apprehend that several regiments of Fencibles who were induced by the same public motive to offer their services in Ireland would do the same. The alarming effect of withdrawing from this country, where the treason is rather quiescent than abandoned, the flower of its army, at a period when the King's Ministers have in contemplation a great constitutional settlement, his Grace will feel. The Lord-Lieutenant's opinion decidedly is that, without the force in question, it would expose the King's interest in this Kingdom to hazard a measure which, however valuable in its future effects, cannot fail in the discussion very seriously to agitate the public mind, and upon which the well-disposed part of the community may be expected warmly to be opposed to each other. No degree of exertion has been omitted to counteract, as far as possible, the apprehended danger. Every effort will be made by his Excellency to impress upon the officers how deeply the public interests are involved in their cheerful continuance in this kingdom. The Lord-Lieutenant will find himself strongly supported by some of the officers, who are alive to the importance of removing any false conceptions the men may have formed on a question which must affect, in a degree almost to decide, the future destiny of Ireland.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

PS.—Since I wrote the above, I have had, by the Lord-Lieutenant's directions, a very full communication with Lord Buckingham. I was authorized to impress upon his Lordship's mind the great danger his Excellency apprehended to the general security of this kingdom, were the Militia withdrawn; and, in such case, it would be his Excellency's duty to represent to his Majesty's Ministers the extreme danger of hazarding the measure in contemplation.

His Lordship saw the importance of their services in the same point of view with the Lord-Lieutenant: he went so far

as to say that, in his Lordship's judgment, the event of the question of Union is altogether dependent on their continuance. He stated, that a difference of opinion prevailed amongst the officers as to the legal part of the question: that Lord Hertford held that they were compellable to serve under the offer they had made, provided the English Parliament thought fit to renew the Act. His Lordship entertained the opposite opinion, and I believe that the greater number of the officers agreed with him.

In respect to the Buckinghamshire regiment, he had given them the most distinct assurances that their stay in Ireland could not be extended beyond the period of the Act. Whatever opinion might ultimately be entertained on the legal question, his Lordship could not possibly break faith with his men, or be the person to enforce an obligation in opposition to his own declaration.

He expressed much anxiety that the Militia could be prevailed on to remain, but thought it impossible, unless some specific period of return was fixed. His Lordship asked whether I thought the 25th of March would give the State sufficient latitude; for, in that period, he conceived it might be managed, if the officers acted in concert, and seemed inclined to go into a consideration of what measures ought to be taken for that purpose. I ventured to suggest that, as it was a question altogether between the English Government and the Militia, and in which the Irish Government, however deeply interested, could only act under their instructions, it appears to me of the last importance not to take any step without knowing the sentiments of the King's Ministers, which might counteract their views, and prematurely pledge the officers. His Lordship was pleased to acquiesce in this idea.

His Lordship adverted to Mr. Tone's case, and observed that, the Proclamation of Martial Law being superseded by the King's Bench, the English Militia were exposed to the vexa-

tions of the Civil Courts for all those acts of general policy not justifiable by ordinary course of law, which they were directed to execute. I assured him the Lord-Lieutenant by no means considered the Proclamation as in any degree superseded; that, whatever might have been the decision upon Tone's individual case, had he lived, his Excellency was desired not on any account to abdicate that summary discretion, although the Courts were sitting, the necessity for which Parliament had recognised, and which the public safety still required; that he had, since the case in question, approved of sentences by Court-martial, and directed them to be executed in other parts of the kingdom; and that his Lordship might depend on the Militia being justified and protected to the utmost, in the execution of those orders which the Lord-Lieutenant felt it his duty to impose, whether strictly legal or not, for the security of the metropolis. His Lordship was perfectly satisfied.

I trust the Lord-Lieutenant will shortly receive directions how to act on this most important question.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, November 23, 1798.

"My Lord—I have the Duke of Portland's directions to request that your Lordship will communicate the following intelligence to the Lord-Lieutenant.

A vessel named the Morgan Rattler, Captain Doyle, lately arrived at Hamburg from Dublin, with some Rebel fugitives. She is now on the point of returning. She goes north about, and means to take the benefit of the first convoy as far as Leith. The captain takes letters and papers from Duckett, Call, a Colonel in the Rebel army at Wexford, Reed, who fled lately from Dublin, Duff, *alias* Campbell, but whose real name is Dornan, or Dorner, and Fullarton, to their friends in Ireland. Directions have been sent to the officer commanding

his Majesty's ships at the mouth of the Elbe to search the vessel for these papers, and to conduct the vessel itself into a British port. Doyle pretends that he knows Holt, and he proposed seeing him before he again returned from Ireland, which he meant to do soon.

Burges, M'Cann, and Corbet arrived at Hamburg on the 3rd from Bergen, having preceded Napper Tandy and General Blackwell, who certainly had not then passed through that city. There is one Bolton at Hamburg, a fugitive Irishman from Dublin, who goes by the name of Gordon. Campbell, *alias* Duff, whom I have mentioned above, and whose real name is Dornan, or Dorner, is said to have been concerned in the murder of a person of the name of Pentland, or Portland, at Drogheda. Besides Tone, there were certainly on board the Brest fleet Hamilton, of Enniskillen, Jennings, nephew to Kilmaine, Maguire, and Corbet, brother to the one who has arrived at Hamburg. The French mission uniformly refuse them passports to return to France.

A committee of Irish has been formed at Hamburg, to correspond with that at Paris. Grey and Bolton (who is there under the name of Gordon), are, I understand, making attempts through their friends to be allowed to return to Ireland. Their language (as well as their conduct and connexions) at Hamburg is such as to leave no doubt of their being very dangerous persons, and unworthy of any indulgence.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. John Beresford.

Private. Phœnix Park, November 24, 1798.

My dear Sir—I have postponed thanking you for your letter, in hopes of sending you some news. Lord Cornwallis has been engaged this week in sounding the principal persons in town; if Lord Pery sees the objections in a strong point

of view, the rest are disposed to entertain the question, some with a greater degree of preference than others. The lawyers are more inclined to reason on the subject than they were some time back: they are by no means unanimous, though the non-contents still have it. Cork is, I am told, strongly for it; Limerick also. The subject, though much talked of, is little understood. We shall endeavour, in a few days, to have it stated: it is necessary to encourage the discussion, else there is some danger of its being disposed of by acclamation.

How long do you look to remain? I do not yet foresee whether I shall be able to get away for a short time or not. The country is pretty much as you left it, the Orangemen and Catholics likely to quarrel in the County of Derry.

With great respect and regard, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. John Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.

Phœnix Park, November 24, 1798.

My dear Sir—I have been induced to postpone writing to you, from a wish to render you some explanation of the impression which the increasing expectation of the Union being brought forward seemed to produce on the public mind. The Bar, which showed most disposition to an active resistance, has as yet taken no step: the body is hostile, but there is a considerable company of disputants. The citizens are disinclined to the measure, but some of their oracles are favourable to it, as the only means of preserving the Protestant State against the Irish Papists and *their English supporters*. Cork, I understand, is unanimous in its favour; Limerick the same; the North is yet torpid—the question seems little understood.

I regretted much not seeing you before your departure. It would have been a very great satisfaction to my mind to have communicated with you, on this most momentous question.

Looking to it with a sanguine preference myself, I am most anxious to know the extent of the difficulties which present themselves to your mind; exclusive of the confidence I always feel in the sanction of your judgment, I am thoroughly persuaded that, on this most difficult measure, your active and hearty assistance in the detail can alone carry us through it, so as to give it its due effect.

As far as Lord Cornwallis's communications have gone, they are as favourable as could be expected in the present stage of the business, in which every man's view of the subject must be materially influenced by the future impressions which the public may receive. Lord Pery[1] seems to entertain the strongest doubts. Great deliberation and caution are necessary. The people must not be precipitated in their decision, lest, in being committed against it, they may be committed against us, and forget that they are surrounded with treason. No question ever demanded so patient an investigation; and the first object for our general safety is, that it may be made a question of calm discussion.

How long shall you remain in London?

With sincere regard, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord Glentworth.

Phœnix Park, November 24, 1798.

My dear Glentworth—I regret your absence from town at this moment, as I should have wished much to have communicated with you very fully and confidentially on the great question which at present occupies all our attention. Is there any probability of your being soon in Dublin?

Lord Pery seems more impressed with the objections to the measure than any of our statesmen here present. I have not

[1] Having filled the Speaker's chair in the Irish House of Commons from 1771 to 1785, he was in that year created Viscount Pery.

yet conversed with him as fully as I could wish and shall do; as his ideas are always of the highest value, and bear the appearance of the years he reckons.

What are the impressions at Limerick? I should suppose, in common with Cork, favourable.

Until you tell me I have any chance of seeing you, I shall add assurances of the sincere regard with which I am always, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, November 25, 1798.

My Lord—In the letter with which I transmitted to your Excellency the proposed articles of Union between this kingdom and Ireland, I informed you that it should be shortly followed by suggestions and observations, which it was hoped would tend to facilitate the accomplishment of that very desirable event; but, several doubts having arisen concerning the modes which had occurred for choosing the representatives of the Commons of Ireland in the United Parliament, it has been thought most advisable to confine the instruction which I am to give you upon this part of the measure to two great outlines, and to leave the decision respecting the particular mode of election open, until we receive from your Excellency the result of the conferences which you will have upon the subject with those who have the most immediate interest in the rights of voting and in the consequences of elections; as well as with those who are best acquainted with the usages, customs, manners, prejudices, expectations, and wishes of the country, and best skilled in discovering and managing the disposition of the people. Your Excellency will therefore take such means as you judge most proper for making this investigation; and I have at present only to recommend to you to take most particular care, throughout the course of it, that it may be clearly

understood that the preservation of the rights of election, in every county, city, and place which now sends members to Parliament, precisely in the same manner and form in which they are now enjoyed and exercised, is one of the fundamental points in which no alteration whatever will be suffered to be proposed; and the other is, that the number of representatives to be chosen by the Commons of Ireland is upon no account whatever to exceed one hundred.

Subject to these two conditions, in neither of which any relaxation will be admitted, it is not the wish of this Government to dictate or to intimate any other preferences than to that mode which is most consonant with the constitutional principles of Representation, which know no difference between a knight of the most opulent shire and the representative of the most insignificant borough in the kingdom; but, whether the reduction which is to take place in the number of the Irish representatives is to be effected by one member being returned for the counties, instead of two, as at present, and classing the boroughs in the manner adopted in Scotland, or by alternating some of the counties, of which examples are also to be found in the representation of that part of the kingdom, or by returning the present number of representatives, and empowering them by ballot or otherwise to choose delegates for the whole body of electors, or for a part of them only, are considerations so much of a local nature that it is to be wished that your Excellency may be able to collect the sentiments of the country upon them with sufficient decision to point out the mode which will be the most grateful to the general feelings of the Irish.

With respect to the future representatives of the Peerage of Ireland, with the difference only in point of number, and of the admission of spiritual as well as temporal Lords, it should seem that a better model could not be followed than that of the election of the 16 Peers for Scotland; and I should suppose that 32 at most, taken out of the whole body, 6 or 4 of whom

should be elected from among the Bishops, would be thought a very competent number to represent the Peerage; which, exclusive of 42 or 43 who are already Peers of Great Britain, amounts, together with the Bishops, to about 180. With respect to the 16 or 17 Peers who are members of the British House of Commons, it is proposed to reserve to them their right of sitting in that House for the remainder of this Parliament, unless they should happen to be chosen to represent their own body, for which they should certainly be eligible during their continuance in the House of Commons; but whether the double capacity of representing their own body and the Commons of Great Britain should be reserved to them under certain restrictions is a question into which I need not enter at present.

I think I have now enabled your Excellency to satisfy the inquiries which will be made of you upon the points of representation; but I cannot entirely quit this subject without adding a few words upon it respecting the numbers which I have stated to be the highest which prudence, and indeed the practicability of carrying on the business, will suffer to be admitted, for the purpose of observing to you that, though our minds are made up to receive 32 Peers and 100 Members from Ireland, it does not follow that the representation of the Irish in either House should of necessity amount to that number. If they should be disposed to be satisfied with a more limited representation, I believe every good purpose proposed by the Union would be equally well attained by a smaller delegation from Ireland; and it would certainly be a mark of confidence and forbearance on the part of the Irish which could not but be considered as an auspicious circumstance for the success and good effects of the measure. I must not omit to add, for fear of any misconception, that it must be distinctly laid down as a condition *sine qua non*, that, in case it shall be determined that the representatives of the Commons should be chosen in such a manner as to be entrusted with the powers either of total or

partial delegation, they must be restrained from any other business, or discussing any other topic than that of the election which they are called together to make, under the same penalties to which the Peers of Scotland have been made liable, which penalties will of course be made to attach to the Peers of Ireland under the same circumstances.

The fairness and liberality which manifest themselves in the 6th and 7th Articles, which relate to Commerce and Revenue, make it necessary for me to observe on the queries which stand opposite to them. The subjects reserved for consideration are evidently pledges of a disposition on this side to do everything that is kind, generous, and friendly to the people of Ireland. Upon the last query, it may be right to inform your Excellency, in confidence, that Mr. Pitt has a plan in contemplation by which there is reason to hope that means may be found to make every individual contribute to the exigencies of the State in proportion to the fair amount of his income; in which, if he should prove successful, it is not possible to imagine a juster criterion to determine the quota which each country should bear of the public expense. In the mean time, other data must be resorted to; and it should seem that a fairer and better could not be fixed upon than the relative proportion of the permanent war and peace establishments of the two kingdoms. This certainly may serve as a basis for a temporary arrangement for a given term, subject, at the expiration of it, to revision and alteration, as circumstances may vary or require; and you may be very confident that every care will be taken in such an arrangement to give no cause of complaint or jealousy to our newly united brethren.

When you shall have sufficiently felt the pulse of the country, and have collected their sentiments, so as to enable you to form an opinion of the mode by which the measure may be most likely to be brought to a successful issue, I would submit to you to spare Lord Castlereagh, and to let him come over here for a short time, as I cannot but think that great facility

and advantage would be derived from personal communication with him in making these arrangements, without which I cannot but apprehend the accomplishment of this great work may be considerably retarded, if not exposed to fail.

If any doubts present themselves to you, or any questions arise upon which you have occasion to wish for information, you will always find me ready to give you every satisfaction in my power, and happy to relieve you, to the best of my abilities, from any part of that weight to which you are subjected by the importance of your public station.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, Monday, November 26, 1798.

My Lord—I beg your Lordship's pardon for having thus long omitted to acquaint you that I had the honour of laying your letter of the 15th instant before the King, who was pleased to express his perfect confidence in your abilities and zeal in his service; and, without presuming to think I can add to the weight of such a sanction, you will give me leave, I hope, to assure you very plainly and very sincerely that, in my humble opinion, the proofs I have had the pleasure to receive of your talents and knowledge in business fully justify the Lord-Lieutenant's wishes for your assistance, and the sentiments which his Majesty authorized me to communicate to you.

In such a case as the present, and with a measure of such uncommon importance in contemplation, it cannot surprise your Lordship that all the King's servants, and that the person particularly who fills the situation in which I have the honour to be placed, should anxiously wish for a personal communication with your Lordship; and, you will find, by a letter which I wrote yesterday to the Lord-Lieutenant, that I only deferred making that request, or, rather desiring it should

not be complied with, until you should be fully prepared to satisfy the object of it. But as, by what I have the satisfaction to learn from Mr. Wickham, there is reason to suppose that you are possessed of all the information I wished you to procure, I have corrected the paragraph of my letter to the Lord-Lieutenant, by requesting your immediate presence in this country, which I hope you will have no objection or difficulty in complying with, and that I may indulge the expectation of seeing you here by the middle of the next week.

I have the honour to be, &c,

PORTLAND.

Draft of a Despatch to the Duke of Portland for the consideration of the Lord-Lieutenant.

November —, 1798.

My Lord—As your Grace and the King's confidential servants may wish to be informed minutely of the steps which I have felt it my duty to take in consequence of your Grace's despatch of the —— instant, enclosing heads of a Union between the two kingdoms, I am induced to be the more circumstantial in my communications on this most important object given me in charge.

In obedience to your Grace's instructions, I lost no time in opening the subject to the persons of the first consideration in this kingdom who happened to be within my reach. Lord Castlereagh has also, by my directions, communicated with others, less considerable in point of situation, but whose active support is scarcely of less importance to the success of the measure. I feel myself justified in stating to your Grace that, as far as I have yet gone, there appears to me no general repugnance to the measure of a Union. Some persons, as might naturally have been expected, are more strongly impressed with its difficulties than its advantages; and there are individuals of very great consideration, whose support it may not be in my power ultimately to obtain; but, upon the whole,

there seems a disposition to consider the question coolly, and many, notwithstanding their reluctance to make an absolute declaration of their intentions at so early a stage of the business, have not hesitated to assure me of their readiness to give it a decided support.

As your Grace may wish to be informed of the particular sentiments of the most leading characters, I think it necessary to mention that Lord Shannon,[1] to whom I first addressed myself, is impressed in the strongest manner with the difficulties and disadvantages of the present system, and is disposed to entertain the measure favourably: at the same time, his Lordship wishes not to declare himself openly till he sees that his doing so can answer some purpose.

Lord Ely[2] (relying on the favour of the Crown in an object personal to himself) is prepared to give it his utmost support.

Lord Pery[3] expressed strong doubts upon the question itself, and much apprehension lest the division of sentiment it must occasion might, at the present moment, be injurious to the public safety. His Lordship, in a subsequent conversation with Lord Castlereagh, said he should certainly *not pledge himself* hastily against it; and, should the measure in progress receive such a support from Parliament and from the country as justified perseverance on the part of ministers, he should feel it his duty to surrender his own opinion, and give it his best assistance in the detail.

Lord Yelverton[4] had no hesitation upon the principle: it met his full approbation.

[1] Richard, second Earl. He was created a British Peer by the title of Baron Carleton in 1786.

[2] The Right Honourable Charles Tottenham, created 1785 Baron Loftus, 1789 Viscount Loftus, and 1794 Earl of Ely.

[3] He had filled the Speaker's chair in the Irish House of Commons from 1771 to 1785, in which year he was created Viscount Pery.

[4] Barry Yelverton, Attorney-general of Ireland in 1782, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1784, and raised to the Peerage in 1795 as Lord Yelverton, Baron Avonmore.

Lord Kilwarden[1] expressed himself guardedly, but appeared to have no particular objection to the idea.

Lord Carleton[2] professed not to have considered the question with much attention, but at present saw many difficulties, which perhaps might disappear upon further investigation.

Mr. Conolly had always been a decided friend to a Union, and was ready to give it his best assistance.

The Attorney and Solicitor-General very well disposed.

The Duke of Leinster,[3] to whom I felt it my duty to mention the measure, was reserved, and seemed disinclined to give an opinion, which I did not think it necessary to press for from his Grace.

The sentiments of the several other persons who have hitherto been communicated with, are, upon the whole, favourable; but I have not yet sounded a sufficient number to enable me to judge of the disposition of the Parliament at large.

Having put your Grace in possession of the opinion of some of the leading persons now in town, as far as their minds are yet made up on the question, I should wish to give your Grace some information, were it in my power, how the public at large are disposed to it. As yet the measure is not sufficiently understood, nor has it been brought into general discussion, so as to enable me to form any correct judgment on this point. Measures will be taken in the course of a few days to bring the general principle into consideration in the most favourable point of view.

I have reason to hope that the inhabitants of Munster, but particularly the citizens of Cork, are partial to the measure.

[1] Arthur Wolfe, Solicitor-general of Ireland in 1787, Attorney-general 1789, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench in 1798, and the same year created Baron Kilwarden of Newlands.

[2] Hugh Carleton, Solicitor-general of Ireland in 1779, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1787, created Baron Carleton in 1789, and Viscount Carleton in 1797.

[3] William Robert, second Duke, elder brother of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

The principal opposition may be expected in Dublin, the rather, as the fears of decay incident to a metropolis will be much excited by the activity of the Bar. Communications have taken place and applications been made to the Sheriffs, to call an aggregate meeting of the City so soon as the measure is avowed, to which they have consented. The Bar also have it in contemplation to meet.

Every endeavour has been, and shall be used, to keep back, if possible, opposition till the question has been more discussed and is better understood. Already the repugnance of the Bar has, in some degree, been softened; and I entertain a sanguine hope that, if the country can be prevented from pledging itself precipitately, all classes of the community may be awakened to a sense of its advantages.

Your Grace may depend on my utmost efforts being directed to the furtherance of this great work, so important to preserve this kingdom in connection with Great Britain; and I shall not fail to communicate to your Grace the particulars of my progress in the execution of the task confided to me.

I have the honour, &c.,

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Cleveland Square, 27th November, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Your letter of the 19th was six days in coming, and I had not till yesterday an opportunity of sounding the Duke of Portland's sentiments on the subject alluded to in it. You are, I hope, mistaken in thinking that the Duke still retains any jealousy of the policy of the original measure adopted with respect to the State prisoners. All the conversations I have had with him on that topic justify me in believing that he is now perfectly sensible of the advantages which have resulted from that act of your administration. He is, however, decidedly for the plan of *strict* custody; and, as his despatch was written after a dis-

cussion of the point in the Cabinet, I do most earnestly recommend it to you not to take any step which may at all deviate from the course he has recommended, without a full regular official communication with him. For my own part, I cannot conceive that any danger would be likely to accrue from the exile of the leaders under the precautions you suggest; and it would certainly be for the dignity of Government to be guided by the most liberal construction of the agreement. Nevertheless, if you ever relax the rigour of their confinement more than is warranted by the opinion of Government conveyed in the Duke of Portland's despatch, and it should excite any clamour, you might be brought into an embarrassing predicament, unless there should be some previous official correspondence. I carefully concealed from the Duke of Portland that I had heard from you on this matter, as he is very sore about the want of official communication from Ireland. It would give me concern that this circumstance should reach Lord Cornwallis's ear, because I know his knowledge of it would not tend to heal the wound. I am confident that, if despatches of the nature I mentioned in a former letter were regularly transmitted to the Duke, it would be the means of restoring harmony where it is much wanted. You, perhaps, might contrive to suggest the expediency of this sort of correspondence to Lord Cornwallis, without giving him an impression that there is any coldness or misunderstanding on the part of the Duke of Portland.

I do not know whether Mr. Pitt has seen the Speaker within these few days. Both Pitt and the Duke of Portland are sanguine on the success of the Union.

Farewell. I am called away, which I regret, as I wished much to write at length to you by this post. I shall, however, certainly write again to-morrow.

Ever yours most truly, W. E.

PS. I return Emmett's letter.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Cleveland Square, November 28, 1798.

My dear Lord Castlereagh — Since I wrote yesterday, I find Mr. Pitt has had another interview with the Speaker, which, however, has terminated in nothing decisive. He has also seen Parnell,[1] but I understand their conversation was not at all conclusive. Parnell, I should guess, is certainly to be gained; and I wish Pitt had begun to treat with him sooner. Since the measure is embarked in, I feel anxious for its success. Even on its present narrow and contracted basis, I believe it will be productive of advantage to the Empire. If the Catholics are wise, they will acquiesce in it; but I am afraid we have left them ground of complaint. I cannot be easily persuaded that, if more firmness had been displayed here at first, a Union might not have been accomplished, including the admission of the Catholic claims; but Mr. Pitt has, with a lamentable facility, yielded this point to *prejudice*, without, I suspect, acquiring a support in any degree equivalent to the sacrifice. Thus a question tending to generate dissension remains open, when it might have been closed for ever.

My sentiments on this topic were not unknown to you before my departure from Dublin, and, I must confess, they are rather confirmed than changed; and they must, I fear, determine me to withdraw from my present situation. At the same time, I do most sincerely assure you that my wishes are entirely the other way. At this critical conjuncture, I cannot help feeling an anxiety to remain at my post under your banner. I shall ever retain the most earnest solicitude for the success of Lord Cornwallis's Government, on the duration of which I am fully convinced the prosperity of the Empire depends; and the friendship I have formed with you has given me, in point of society, an interest in Ireland I never expected

[1] Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer.

to acquire. In the various discussions on the Union, however, the Catholic question will, of course, be brought forward; and since, after the most mature consideration, I cannot reconcile the exclusion of the Catholics to any principle, either of justice or of sound policy, it is quite impossible for me to vote against a proposition for the admission of their claims.[1]

If I could stay away from the House when the question is debated (and it may be agitated frequently), others would have a right to look for similar indulgence on more convenient occasions, and my example could not fail of operating injuriously to Government in the progress of a measure, no part of which will probably be carried, without the enforcement of severe *Parliamentary discipline*. To avoid, therefore, this difficulty, and other embarrassments arising from the same source, I have, after much serious reflection, resolved to beg the Lord-Lieutenant's permission to retire, and propose writing to him either by this day's or to-morrow's post. You may, perhaps, think I have been dilatory in forming my decision on this subject; but I waited, in order to ascertain the principle on which the Union was to be proposed, and I was unacquainted with the assurance given to the Chancellor until it was communicated to me in the letters which I received from Lord Cornwallis and yourself in the middle of the last week. It may, perhaps, be deemed desirable that I should settle and deliver over the business of the office to my succcessor; and, in this case, I shall with great pleasure stay in Ireland till the approach of the Session, and will postpone the private business which I came hither to adjust until my return.

As the Duke of Portland has written to the Lord-Lieutenant, to request your coming to England, I hope to see you shortly, and beg you will let me know when we may expect you.

There is no news. I am afraid Austria will delay the com-

[1] Mr. Elliot had a seat in the Parliament of Ireland.

mencement of hostilities till the last moment; and, if possible, will, I suppose, make peace. I hope peace, however, will not be practicable to her.

Farewell, my dear Lord Castlereagh. Remember me in the most affectionate manner to Lady Castlereagh, and believe me, most unalterably yours,

W. E.

Lord Castlereagh to the Bishop of Ossory.

Phœnix Park, November 25, 1798.

My dear Lord—Your Lordship is, no doubt, acquainted with the general aspect of affairs on this side of the water. Our progress, on a particular subject, has not yet been sufficient to enable us to judge with precision of the difficulties we shall have to encounter. That they must be considerable is in the nature of the question. But I see no reason to apprehend that, with firmness and perseverance, they may not be surmounted.

The strong interest your Lordship takes in the success of this measure, and the very important services your Lordship is enabled to render in its proceeding, will, I trust, justify and excuse me to your Lordship in expressing a very earnest desire to see you in this kingdom as early as your Lordship can make it compatible with your domestic arrangements.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord Longueville.[1]

Phœnix Park, November 28, 1798.

My dear Lord—My Lord-Lieutenant much regrets your absence from town at the present moment. His Excellency

[1] Richard Longfield, Esq., of Longueville, created in 1795 Baron Longueville.

would have wished to converse with your Lordship on the measure of strengthening our connexion with Great Britain by a Legislative Union, which shall pledge the whole force and resources of the Empire to the security of every part, and make that support which we now receive as an act of favour, an act of duty, on the part of England. The subject is too wide for a letter. I should be glad to communicate freely with your Lordship on this most important question, and am most desirous of knowing your Lordship's sentiments, which cannot fail to have the greatest weight in the south, particularly in Cork.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. Sir Laurence Parsons, Bart.[1]

Phœnix Park, November 28, 1798.

My dear Sir—The disposition I know you feel to consider deeply every proposition affecting the public interests assures me, whatever may be your final decision, that you will coolly investigate the great question which has of late occupied the attention of the Governments of both countries.

The times require that we should, if possible, strengthen the empire as well as this kingdom. We at present require, and shall continue, I fear, to require, a larger military force than our own resources can supply. There can be little doubt that a Union, on fair and liberal principles, effected with the good-will of both kingdoms, would strengthen the Empire; and there can be as little question that Ireland would be more secure were the resources of England pledged to her by incorporation than as they are at present, but as a favour.

The complexion of our internal system is most unpleasant; it is strongly tinctured with religious animosity, and likely to

[1] Member in the Irish Parliament for the University of Dublin, and subsequently for King's County.

become more so. United with England, the Protestants, feeling less exposed, would become more confident and liberal; and the Catholics would have less inducement to look beyond that indulgence, which is consistent with the security of our establishments.

I should be happy to communicate with you at large on this interesting and momentous question. May I hope to see you in town? I know the Lord-Lieutenant is very desirous of seeing you upon it. In the hope that you may be able to make it convenient, I shall only add assurances of the respect with which I am, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Sir George Fitzgerald Hill, Bart.[1]

Phœnix Park, December 1, 1798.

My dear Hill—It is a circumstance of peculiar satisfaction to me that you are at present at Derry. The public sentiment at this critical moment cannot be in more discreet and judicious hands. As to argument on the question, the pamphlet which I enclose is a magazine of the first materials; reprint it at Derry, and circulate it as widely as possible; discourage warmth or early declarations on either side; keep the public mind in a deliberate state; and I am sanguine enough to hope the event must be favourable. Derry, under its present guidance, has long been the counterpoise to Belfast, and the rallying point for the loyalty of the North. I trust its good sense will be equally distinguished on the momentous question we are now called on to consider. I have the utmost reliance on your address, influence, and zeal.

I am, with great regard,

CASTLEREAGH.

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[1] Member for Derry, and Colonel of the Londonderry Militia, married to Jane, third daughter of the Rt. Hon. John Beresford, and niece of the Marquess of Waterford.

Lord Castlereagh to the Rt. Hon. George Ogle.

Phœnix Park, December 4, 1798.

My dear Sir—I made an attempt to see you last Friday, but my letter found you out of town. I was very desirous of communicating with you on the important question at present under consideration in both countries. As I know no member of the Legislature who more anxiously and zealously endeavours to strengthen our constitution in Church and State, I am induced to hope that you will feel the importance of incorporating our representation with the Protestant Legislature of Great Britain, thereby making our establishments correspondent to our population, and pledging for ever the strength of the Empire to their permanent security. Nothing but the strongest sense of duty would induce the Government of either country to encounter a measure of such difficulty at such a moment. They feel it essential to their joint interests, and, therefore, do not shrink from the undertaking.

I shall be happy to avail myself of the first opportunity of communicating with you more in detail on this important question.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Phœnix Park, December 5, 1798.

My Lord—Since I last had the honour of addressing your Grace on the subject of the Union, I have had an opportunity of extending my communications with individuals, and of observing, in some degree, the first impressions produced on the public mind by the agitation of this important question.

I beg leave to refer your Grace to Lord Castlereagh (whom, I trust, I shall be enabled to despatch from hence to-morrow evening) for the particular sentiments of the several persons who have been sounded, since I last addressed your Grace, on

the measure. The general result enables me to confirm the opinion stated to your Grace in my despatch of the ———, that the prevailing disposition amongst those with whom I have had communication is to entertain the question dispassionately, and to rest their decision upon the merits of the arrangements when detailed, rather than to reject the principle of the measure.

The opponents of the Union are desirous to prevent the discussion of the subject, and leave no means untried to commit the public, in the first instance, against the measure, as subversive of the Constitution; and, as such, not to be entertained. Pains have been taken to represent an acquiescence in its principle as a violation of the oath of a yeoman, in which he swears to support and maintain the "*Constitution of this Kingdom as by law established.*"

The Bar have been most forward in their opposition, and have been this day assembled as a corps, it is understood, with an intention of taking up the question. Should that learned body be so intemperate as to set an example to the yeomanry at large, unconstitutional in the extreme, and dangerous to the public safety, I shall feel myself called on, in the outset, to meet this attempt to overawe the King's Government and the Legislature with decision.

I am happy to observe that the leading Catholics, notwithstanding the measure is understood by them to be unconnected with any immediate extension of constitutional privileges to their communion, express themselves highly in its favour. Lord Fingall,[1] whose good sense is as distinguished as his attachment to his Majesty's Government and to the British connection, has expressed much satisfaction that it was not meant to complicate the question of Union by attempting, at present, any change in the Test Laws. He considers it would be injurious to the Catholic claims to have them discussed in the present temper of the Irish Parliament, and was satisfied

[1] Arthur James, eighth Earl.

it would hazard the success of the Union, without serving the Catholics; and considers it much more for their interest that the question should rest, till it could be submitted, in quieter times, to the unprejudiced decision of the United Parliament, relying on their receiving hereafter every indulgence which could be extended to them, without endangering the Protestant establishment.

Lord Kenmare[1] joined in this sentiment, and is a warm advocate for the measure; both these noblemen expressed an anxious wish to see the Catholic clergy rendered less dependent on the lower orders, by having a reasonable provision under the State.

Lord Castlereagh has seen Dr. Troy, and finds his sentiments perfectly correspondent with those of my Lord Fingall and Lord Kenmare. He expressed himself perfectly satisfied, provided no bar to their future hopes made a part of the measure, and was ready to use his utmost influence in its support. Upon the whole, it appears to me, as far as the dispositions of the Catholics have yet disclosed themselves, that there is every reason to expect from them a preference for the measure. An active support from that body would not perhaps be advantageous to the success of the Union. It would particularly increase the jealousy of the Protestants, and render them less inclined to the question.

I feel it unnecessary at present to trouble your Grace more at length upon this interesting question, as Lord Castlereagh will be enabled to explain to your Grace my sentiments on every part of the subject, particularly on the topics treated of in your Grace's despatch of the 25th, marked Secret. I trust that the Speaker and Sir John Parnell will not have left London before Lord Castlereagh's arrival, as I consider it highly important that he should have an opportunity of hearing them state their opinions before the King's ministers on the ques-

[1] Valentine Browne, created, in 1798, Baron of Castlerosse, and Viscount Kenmare, Earl of Kenmare, in 1800.

tion. Some of the King's Irish servants appear to be amongst the most impracticable in their opinions, and I feel confident that your Grace will leave no means untried to impress these gentlemen more favourably before their return to this kingdom.

I have the honour, &c., C.

PS. I am happy to inform your Grace that the good sense of the Bar has prevailed, and that the meeting has dispersed; it being the decided opinion of the majority that any deliberation on the question or political measure, in their military capacity, was highly criminal. I trust the failure of this attempt to make it a question of arms will secure us against any interference of a similar description. A general Bar meeting is summoned, I understand, for Sunday next.

Rt. Hon. Isaac Corry to Lord Castlereagh.

My dear Lord—I send you enclosed a note, stating the proceedings of the Bar on Sunday. I won't take up your time with any observations, other than to say I have seen a draft of a Protest or Statement on the subject. Cooke, who dined with me to-day, has seen it here.

Your faithful, obedient servant,

ISAAC CORRY.

Mr. M'Clelland to the Rt. Hon. Isaac Corry.

Temple Street, Sunday evening, December 9, 1798.

My dear Corry—As I am sure you are anxious to know the result of our meeting to-day, I will give you a hasty sketch of our proceedings. I intended to have called on you for the purpose, but professional business has prevented me. We met about twelve o'clock, and broke up about six. Saurin opened the debate, by proposing a Resolution that "the measure of a Legislative Union of this kingdom and Great Britain was an innovation which it would be highly dangerous and improper

to propose at the present juncture to this country." This motion was artfully calculated to avoid giving an express opinion on the question of a Union; at the same time, that the public might be induced to suppose that we had given such an opinion. Saurin avowed such to be his object, by expressing, in decided terms, his aversion to a Union, and his hopes that, by similar resolutions throughout the kingdom, the measure might be frustrated. He was seconded by Spencer. St. George Daly then proposed an adjournment for a month, in order to avoid a premature discussion of the question.

This motion was followed by several violent harangues, some of them pronounced by men *notoriously disaffected.* These republicans (as might be expected) inveighed violently against the insidious views of Great Britain and its ministers, and attributed all our misfortunes to that source. I seized an opportunity of speaking immediately after one of these violent agitators; and, after reprobating as strongly as I could the language they had held, and the manner in which they had debated the question, I called upon the meeting to join with me in the sentiment that this kingdom must stand or fall with Great Britain, and that whoever ventured to hint at a separation of them was an enemy to his country. This proposition was received with the warmest approbation.

Having thus roused the loyalty of the meeting, I urged, as strongly as I could, the reasons which occurred to me for postponing the discussion of the subject, until we hear the intended terms of the Union, or whether the measure would in any shape be brought before Parliament. I flattered myself on sitting down with a considerable support, but some desultory speeches afterwards drove away many who would have voted with us. On the division, thirty-two voted for the adjournment, and a hundred and sixty against it. The Resolution was then carried by the same majority.

This is a defeat far beyond what I expected; however, I hope we may in some measure defeat the great effect expected

to be produced by it. Daly and I intend bringing forward a protest against the Resolution, which will be signed by many not present at the meeting. I foresee that, in withstanding and opposing the violence of the opposite party, I shall be held out as a marked object for censure and misrepresentation. I have already felt a good deal of this kind of conduct towards me; however, they shall not thereby deter me from opposing their views. I will tell you more of this when I see you.

Excuse this hasty sketch of our debate, and believe me,

Yours sincerely,

JAMES M'CLELLAND.

The Earl of Londonderry to Lord Castlereagh.

Mount Stewart, December 10, 1798.

Dear Castlereagh—You desire me, in your last, before sailing, to write to you in London on the subject of the Union, and let you know how it is relished in the North. Lord Camden lately expressed the same wish, which induced me to send him a farrago, chiefly from my own brains, as I have had very little opportunity of collecting the opinions of others; and, since possibly he may show it to you, I shall not repeat any thing I said to him. Few in this county know that the question is positively to be agitated, and of course it is not talked of seriously, nor with much earnestness. I have given the pamphlet you sent to some few to read, but have heard none argue with any keenness either for or against. Counsellor Johnson, I am told, speaks in approbation of it; so does Craufurd: this I did not expect; but, as others of a certain description look up to them as political guides, I infer the popular current will not be very strong in this corner of the North against the measure. I conclude most of those who were actuated with a strong reforming spirit entertain such a dislike and antipathy to the present subsisting Parliament of the country, that they will not be very adverse to any change

that will rid them of what they deem so very corrupt a legislature. Craufurd's opinion will be adopted by many of the Belfast people, for it will have further to recommend it, the idea of an influx of wealth, from a more extensive and flourishing commerce, of which Belfast is sure to have a principal share. The lower order of manufacturers and farmers, unless set going by the upper ranks, will concern themselves little about the matter. Clelland tells me he has written to you last Friday, not knowing of your sailing, to say M'Guan has consented to prosecute all the State prisoners confined in Belfast, or whose names he returned, a very few excepted, unless they, in one month after notice, consent to transport themselves to America. This intimation, I believe, is operating upon Steel Dickson, as Mathews tells me he hears from Portaferry that he intends going to America. Having got this hold over them, I think Government should force them all to leave the country.

Dear Castlereagh,

Ever your affectionate Father,

LONDONDERRY.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, December 11, 1798.

My dear Lord—We have a good deal of natural ferment in town among bankers, merchants, &c., who are to have a meeting on Tuesday next.

I hear of an adverse Hunting Club at Dundalk, and some disposition to move at Armagh.

The violent are very violent. No publications yet that are not entirely contemptible.

The Bucks Militia are determined to return: Lord Buckingham made a fine speech—only 200 would stay. They have lost great numbers by sickness, and the men are frightened.

The Protest is going on. It was drawn by William Smyth,

who was affronted with Saurin for not asking his opinion as to calling the meeting of the Bar.

There is a neat answer to Spencer: they think by a Mr. Johnson, of the Bar.

Would the Star and Courier receive papers for a Union?

I do not yet know what the Catholics will do.

I could wish you would promise leave for M'Nevin, O'Connor, and Emmett, to go to the Continent, and settle something as to the Tenders.

Ever, my dear Lord, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. John Claudius Beresford[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

December 12, 1798.

My dear Lord—I should have called on you before you left Ireland, to converse with you on the sentiments of those two bodies of people in Ireland, on whose opinions you did me the honour of consulting me, but I waited for the meeting of the Aldermen of Skinners' Alley, of which I am Governor, and which consists of a great number of freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, and to which every loyal member of the Corporation of the City belongs; as I knew I should be there most likely to hear the sentiments of the citizens of Dublin, the society being as much an exclusively political one as can possibly exist in Ireland, where you know they always mix their politics with *their liquor*, and declare their sentiments by their toasts.

This meeting took place on the 4th, and the universal opinion of every person was against the measure, and violently against it, except one Alderman James, who said nothing openly, but whispered me that he thought it the only chance the Protestants had: the other citizens of Dublin, that is, I mean the bankers and merchants whose business keeps them out of the way of these clubs, and who have not the same in-

[1] Son of the Right Hon. John Beresford, and a banker of Dublin.

ducements to attend them that I have, are about to declare their sentiments in a more open manner, they having called on the Lord Mayor to summon a meeting at the Mansion House for that purpose, which he has consented to do, and named Tuesday next, and the parties who have signed that requisition have agreed to meet together on Monday, to settle some plan of acting at the other meeting. I will be at both meetings, and will write to you after each of them. I think there will be some violent debating there.

The opinions of the other body of men, I mean, the Orangemen of Dublin, I cannot so accurately tell, as it has been my principal aim at all times to prevent them from debating political questions, which would be very dangerous in a community where their numbers are so great, that we should be actually reduced to that miserable situation of being governed by clubs, which, in my mind, has been the cause of half the miseries of France. But, talking to them individually at the monthly meeting, which was the first Wednesday of this month, I found them mostly adverse to the measure, and one gentleman attempted to introduce a debate on the subject, which I immediately put a stop to. I would by all means advise you not to attempt to procure declarations from them; it is ten to one they will not be on the side you wish, and, if they should even, you will lay a dangerous precedent.

As I have so fully talked to you on the sentiments of other persons, and the conduct they are likely to pursue, I will say a few words to you on my own. I feel myself bound by the opinions of my constituents, and by the local injury I am convinced the city of Dublin will receive by it, to oppose it. At the same time, I am by no means competent to judge whether the measure will be of general utility or not, nor do I think the Cabinet Ministers in England are fit persons to judge of it, being thoroughly satisfied of their ignorance of the internal situation of the country. However, this much I

am clear of, that nothing could be more injurious to Ireland, whether the motion was carried or not, than to suffer the jealousies of the people of either country to be increased by it; and, if it was in my power to be of the slightest assistance in that desirable end, I mean the maintaining of good humour between the two countries, let the question turn which way it will, I shall be extremely happy. If you think my continuing to write to you can be of any service, drop me a single line to say so in answer to this. I shall not look for an answer to any other letter I may write you on the subject, as I am a man more of business than ceremony, and am convinced you have no time to throw away.

Believe me, my dear Lord, yours truly,

J. C. BERESFORD.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, December 15, 1798.

My dear Lord — Dublin violence increases. Pamphlets swarm—one or two good. A private meeting to-day of Catholics. I hear the body are not ill-inclined, and, where immediate private interest does not clash, will not oppose. Do not yet be certain. Lord Fingall wavered the other day.

The Dublin argument is this: Absenteeism will increase—interest of the debt to England will increase—and we cannot bear the drain. Our manufactures will be ruined by putting an end to duties between the two countries. All the proprietors in Dublin must be injured. We shall be liable to British debts, &c.

Some detailed plan is necessary to obviate this language. Can the potion be sweetened for Dublin?

I have nothing from the North. I wish your return much.

All the Buckingham stay till April, and most of Lord Hertford's. There has been much manœuvre.

Barrington[1] is writing—Bushe[2] is writing—Jebb[3] is writing—all against.

The answer to Spencer is by William Johnson. I hope you like the Lawyers' Protest. The Lawyers' debate is for the question. I hope the subject will not be in the Speech, but by separate Message.

Should a dissolution take place previously to the final discussion of the subject?

No packets have sailed hence this week, and none have been received these five days.

Still robberies and murders in Kildare and Wicklow.

Would the Star and Courier fight for a Union by abusing the Orangemen and praising Lord Cornwallis?

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Alexander Knox[4] to Lord Castlereagh.

Friday Night, past Twelve.

My dear Lord—I sit down to write, though I fear the embargo laid on the packet-boats by the "bleak north-east" is not yet over. We have now for three days been cut off from communication;—happily for us the times are such as to make it of little consequence.

Yesterday, there was a meeting of the Masters of the Orange Lodges in this city, and they came to a resolution that, having associated merely to resist insurrection, it did not become them to interfere with respect to any other political concern; and that, though they did not individually pledge themselves to

[1] Sir Jonah Barrington, M.P., King's Counsel, and Judge of the Court of Admiralty.

[2] Charles Bushe, M.P., an eminent barrister, afterwards Solicitor-General, and Chief-Justice of Ireland.

[3] Richard Jebb, also a member of the Irish Parliament. His pamphlet was in answer to Mr. Cooke's "Arguments for and against a Union."

[4] Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Castlereagh.

any side on the Union, and should hold themselves at liberty to come forward on the subject in their towns and counties as citizens and freeholders, yet that, as Orangemen, they should be perfectly neuter, and take no step whatever. This a strong Orangeman who visited me this morning (John Hill, Sir George's brother,) thinks will be universally adopted.

I had last night a letter from Mr. Black, the Dissenting Minister of Derry, enclosing one from Mr. Cuming of Armagh. I find that both were much pleased with the *Pamphlet*,[1] but hurt at a misstatement of the present prevailing sentiment of the Presbyterians relative to the differences between them and the establishment. This, however, will very easily be set to rights. I consider these two men's approbation of the substance of that pamphlet no bad symptom of the disposition of the Presbyterians of the North.

Bushe, Barrington, and Mr. Jebb come forth in print to-morrow. Surely all Bedlam, not Parnassus, is let out. Notwithstanding all this rage, I have little doubt that liberal terms and discreet management will bring forward a muster of men of no personal feelings, (but who wish for tranquillity for the country, and merely fair play for themselves) who will much outvote the political Stentors who are bellowing to the high heavens. *Delet dies commenta, confirmat judicium*, or some such expression, is the sentiment of Cicero: I think we shall see it verified in the present instance, notwithstanding all the strife of tongues. The worst of it is that some of the strongest points cannot be brought before the public. I have felt this peculiarly this day or two, while endeavouring to write upon the subject; and I feel it infinitely easier to say what is true than to say merely what ought to be sent abroad into the world. Farewell, my good Lord, and believe me, &c.,

ALEXANDER KNOX.

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[1] No doubt, Mr. Cooke's pamphlet, "Arguments for and against a Union."

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, December 17, 1798.

My dear Lord—There was a Catholic meeting of thirty-seven leading men at Lord Fingall's on Saturday. Lord Kenmare wrote a letter to the meeting, expressing his sentiments as decidedly in favour of Union. Mr. Donellan was against it, Mr. Bellew not decided. There was no division, but an adjournment to Saturday next. Many thought it foolish to oppose a measure which was opposed by their enemies, the Orangemen. On the whole, the appearance favourable.

Bellew called on Marsden to-day, and gave him a general account, and seemed cool, but undecided. Marsden thought he wished to be talked to. Bellew talked much of the Speaker.

I talked much to Mr. Simon Maguire, who was formerly a leader. He thinks nothing but Union can save the country. He says nothing can exceed the rancour of parties, and that he thinks it is gradually increasing. He says that Lord Cornwallis's conduct has, in his opinion, saved the country hitherto, but that, unless a Union is made, there will be a general burst in a few years, and a separation. He conceives the Catholics are in general well inclined.

The corporation of Dublin is furious. They passed the enclosed Resolutions to-day unanimously; and Alexander tells me he has seen a Requisition with the Lord Mayor, desiring his Lordship to call a Post Assembly to address the King, to recommend it to Lord Cornwallis to take more active measures to prevent Rebels and persons who have protections from plundering and murdering his Majesty's loyal subjects.

This will be an excellent tail-piece. Pamphlets swarm. They say "Cease your funning" is Barrington's. Jebb's is moderate and good, and admits a great deal to the purpose.

Bellew told Marsden that he heard the United Irishmen conceived bringing forward a Union was playing their game.

I trust your Lordship and Beresford will come home as soon as possible. I am ever, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Keatinge writes in favour of a Union.

Blake has written to you that, in case a Union is to be proposed, he may take the sense of his County.

Bellew said that he knew that excluding the Catholics from their object, viz., the Legislature, was imposed on the Cabinet from hence.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, December 18, 1798.

My dear Lord—I enclose the Resolutions of the Bankers and Merchants, which are well conceived, and very strong. Digges Latouche moved, John C. Beresford seconded; the Bank Directors were present. Only the mover and seconder spoke.

I am sorry to say our situation does not mend. We hear of trees being cut in Tipperary and Wexford; and I hear that in Down and Antrim there are bad symptoms. Robberies, murders, and burnings continue; last night, the sentries on the bridges were fired at.

This day Sirr took up a man of the name of Farrell, who went down with Dobbs into the County of Wicklow. He had a dagger with him, and a large bundle of papers, similar to the enclosed.

Dr. Drennan is writing, and he transmits his papers to be published by Stewart, in London. It is either Daniel Stewart who acts as a soliciting lawyer in England, and is concerned in a London newspaper,[1] or one of the Belfast Stewarts.

I think the enclosed pamphlet is the only one which contains any solid argument, or goes rightly into the subject.

Ever most truly and faithfully,

E. COOKE.

[1] In the Courier, of which he was Editor, I believe.

Resolutions of the Meeting of the Bankers and Merchants of Dublin.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the Bankers and Merchants of Dublin, held at the Mansion House on Tuesday, December 18, 1798, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor in the Chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

Resolved that, since the renunciation in the year 1782 of the power of Great Britain to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of this kingdom have eminently increased:

Resolved, that we attribute these blessings, under Providence and the gracious favour of our beloved Sovereign, to the wisdom of the Irish Parliament:

Resolved, that we look with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their Parliament, and thereby of their constitution and immediate power of legislating for themselves:

Resolved that, impressed with every sentiment of loyalty to our King, and affectionate attachment to British connexion, we conceive that to agitate in Parliament a question of Legislative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain would be highly dangerous and impolitic:

Resolved unanimously, that the Lord Mayor be requested to sign these Resolutions in the name of the Bankers and Merchants of Dublin, and that the same be published in all the public papers.

Wm. Digges Latouche, Esq., proposed the Resolutions; J. C. Beresford, Esq., seconded them. No other person spoke.

Lord Castlereagh to the Earl of Leitrim.[1]

Cleveland Square, December 19, 1798.

My dear Lord—The Lord-Lieutenant gave it me in command, before I left Ireland, to take the earliest opportunity of

[1] Robert Clements, first Earl of Leitrim.

seeing your Lordship, and to submit to you the general matters of the measure which the King's Ministers have in contemplation, for giving additional strength and security to our establishments, by uniting both countries, on fair and liberal terms, in one kingdom. I cannot, I fear, stop to see your Lordship before I leave England, my stay being necessarily limited to a very few days; but I shall entreat to be favoured with the first possible occasion you can afford me of communicating with your Lordship upon this most interesting and important subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, December 19, 1798.

My dear Lord—Bellew was with Marsden to-day. He said there would be a large meeting of Catholics on Saturday; that they expected he would move a resolution; but he understood Lord Cornwallis had expressed a wish that no step should be taken at present—that, for his own part, not seeing that any particular benefit was held out for a Union to the Catholics, he had intended to move that, as far as the Catholics were concerned, a Union was inexpedient; that he wished not to do anything unpleasant to the Government; that he thought, if he did not propose anything, no one else would; and that he was not indisposed to adjourn a decision, if recommended.

I shall see Lord Cornwallis upon this point. Bellew is to call on Marsden to-morrow. Symptoms of disturbance increase.

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, December 20, 1798.

My dear Lord—I am sorry to say there are symptoms of returning turbulence in Wicklow, Kildare, Wexford,

Antrim, Down, Tipperary. The French were expected at Christmas.

Bellew was favourable to-day: he sees his Excellency to-morrow. He thinks the plan of Union hitherto unfolded is unfavourable to the Catholics, if it be considered as a final adjustment: if not final, then they have less chance with a British Parliament where they have no influence, than with an Irish one, where they have. He is for connecting the clergy with the State. He thinks the Catholics will not take the oath of Supremacy of the Bill of Rights. He will prevent an unfavourable declaration.

I think Jebb's pamphlet very favourable to the cause. It is cried up here and talked of: it admits all that is wanted. He is against an Irish Parliament vested with imperial powers, and for a Parliament with local and municipal powers. The question is reduced to this—which is preferable—one Parliament for the Empire, chosen from all its parts? or the cutting down the Union Parliament to the power of a Grand Jury?

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

My opinion leads me to wish that the Union was not in the Speech, but made a substantive measure.

Mr. J. C. Beresford to Lord Castlereagh.

December 19, 1798.

My dear Lord—Being much pressed for time these last two days, and detained at the meetings at the Exchange, which took place on Monday, and that which took place yesterday at the Lord Mayor's, until nearly the time of my leaving town, I was prevented from writing to you; I, however, enclosed to my father a parcel of papers which I desired him to show you, thinking the perusal of them would, in some degree, tend to show you the disposition of the people of Dublin. I conclude he has shown them to you, as likewise the answer I sent to the Bricklayers. The resolutions which we drew up at the

Exchange were yesterday passed with a small alteration, which I made in them before they were proposed.

I told you unequivocally that I was an enemy to the measure, but my dislike to it would never induce me to lay aside my sincerity in any correspondence I might have with you on the subject: and, when I warn you of the universal disgust, nay, horror, that Dublin, and even all the lower part of the North, have at the idea of the Union, I do not do it with any idea that my opinion would have a weight in turning Government from their design, but from a wish that they should know what they have to contend with; for, I confess to you, that I fear more the effect the measure will have on the minds of the people (particularly those that were the best affected) than I do the measure itself. At the meeting yesterday, Peter Digges Latouche proposed the resolutions. I was called on to second them; except what Mr. Latouche said, who made a long historical speech, and a few words that I said, not a word was spoken. The resolutions all passed unanimously, without a comment. I saw several of the principal Roman Catholic merchants, but none of the late democratic ones. All the Presbyterians were there, except John Lindsay. I must mention to you the meeting was a meeting of the merchants and traders of the City of Dublin, and not the free merchants.

The conversations on this subject have given the almost annihilated body of United Irishmen new spirits, and the Society is again rising like a phœnix from its ashes. I know from certain information that they are again meeting in the City and its neighbourhood, and are preparing fresh publications to agitate the people. Mr. Taafe's pamphlet, I think, is a pretty specimen: I send it to you, though I think it scarcely possible but that you must already have received it. Mr. Taafe, I hear, is a Popish priest, who was wounded in the Rebellion, fighting against his Majesty's forces. The City resolutions, which you will see in the public papers, are a great deal stronger

than ours. Unless something occurs which is worth relating, I shall not trouble you with a letter till I hear from you.

Believe me, &c.,

JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD.

Dr. Duigenan[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Dublin, December 20, 1798.

My Lord—You have been, before you will receive this letter, informed that the corporation of the City of Dublin has decided against a Union of the two kingdoms, and published its resolutions in no very temperate terms. An assembly of persons, styling themselves the bankers and merchants, have pursued the same line of conduct. Every traitor and democrat in the City of Dublin, who could pretend to the character of a merchant on the score of his having bought or sold a roll of tobacco, attended at this last meeting, which, however, was honoured with the presence of many very respectable citizens, headed by the Messrs. Latouches,[2] for whose conduct on this occasion I cannot account.

The Irish Bar led the way in this premature opposition, influenced by men to whom the Government has heretofore shown great attention, as much, perhaps more, than their merits entitled them to. In short, my Lord, the tide of opposition to this measure runs so strong at present in this city, that some of the first and most popular characters who are perfectly convinced of the expediency, nay, almost of the necessity, of the measure, are afraid openly to proclaim their opinions, convinced that they would, by so doing, lose that popularity, which they may in proper season use for purposes beneficial to Church and State.

We have succeeded here in preventing the Aldermen of

[1] Patrick Duigenan, LL.D., Member of Parliament for Armagh, King's Advocate-General, and one of the most strenuous opponents of the Catholic claims.

[2] Eminent bankers of Dublin.

Skinner's Alley, a very numerous society of citizens of Dublin, eminently loyal, from canvassing the business; and the different Orange Lodges throughout the kingdom, composed of the bravest, most active, and loyal Protestants, have been prevailed on to adopt the same line of conduct. This is the utmost service the friends of the Union have been able to effect.

In truth, my Lord, I must plainly tell you that the unaccountable conduct of the present Lord-Lieutenant, which has rendered him not only an object of disgust, but of abhorrence, to every loyal man I have conversed with since my return from England, has induced many persons to oppose a Union, who, if uninfluenced by resentment against the Marquess Cornwallis, would have given no opposition, if they did not support, that measure. God Almighty send us a chief Governor of more conciliating manners, more understanding, and more knowledge of the real state of this unhappy, divided, and partly desolated country, and the dispositions of its inhabitants! I have the honour to be, &c.,

PATRICK DUIGENAN.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, December 24, 1798.

My Lord—The several points of the Articles of the intended Union with Ireland upon which your Excellency is desirous of receiving more detailed instructions having been stated to me in writing by Lord Castlereagh, together with a paper, containing the mode in which your Excellency proposes to arrange the representation of the Irish Commons in the United Parliament, I laid them before his Majesty's confidential servants, by whom I am authorized to acquaint your Excellency that they very much approve the plan you have formed for that branch of the Legislature; that the advantage of it appears self-evident; and that they observe, with great satisfaction, the superiority it possesses over all the ideas which were suggested to you in my despatch of the 23rd November,

and the great success with which it promises to obviate the most serious of the objections which occurred in the reduction of the numbers of that representative body. It is not to be supposed that any material difficulty can occur in the selection of a borough to which a permanent seat is to be given, for the purpose of enabling you to reduce those which are to choose alternately to an even number; nor need your Excellency apprehend any objection from hence if you should think proper or find it expedient for any reason to allow the City of Dublin two representatives, as has been hinted by Lord Castlereagh: the only condition respecting this part of the measure upon which I am to require your Excellency to insist being, that the number of the representatives of the Commons of Ireland is not to exceed 100, and that the chartered and prescriptive rights of electors are to be religiously maintained.

With respect to the election of the Peers, who are to sit on the part of Ireland in the Parliament of the United Kingdoms, it should seem, upon the best consideration that we have been able to give the subject, that, if the precedent of the Union with Scotland was to be exactly followed, the following difficulties would arise:—

First—The principle of election for one Parliament only appears in itself to be adverse to the constitution and character of the House of Lords as forming a part of the British Legislature; and the inconvenience arising from this circumstance would evidently be much augmented when, instead of 16, as at present, so large a proportion as near 50 out of less than 300 members would be so elected.

Second—That, in this instance, the danger would be greater than in the Scotch Peerage, because, though that body has in the course of a century suffered some diminution, it is nevertheless so constituted that it is little likely to suffer any further diminution, and the body is still sufficiently numerous to afford a reasonable security against improper combinations or cabals; whereas, the Irish Peerage, being for the most part of

a much later creation, and in almost every instance limited to heirs male, is likely to suffer a much more rapid diminution; and, as the number to be elected is to be considerably larger, the effect may at no very distant period be extremely inconvenient, by subjecting the election of so powerful a body in the House of Lords to be dependent on the cabals possibly of a few individuals.

Third—The taking from the Crown all power of conferring Irish honours would necessarily reduce very considerably the objects of fair ambition, to which persons of consequence in that kingdom may hereafter aspire; and it would, besides, throw on Government such a pressure of claims for British Peerage as must in its effects be highly embarrassing, whether those claims be satisfied or not.

I am, therefore, to recommend it to your Excellency to consider whether a new principle may not with advantage be adopted as to the election of Peers on the part of Ireland, and that, accordingly, the Irish temporal Peers, now existing, or hereafter to be created by his Majesty, should elect, in the first instance, 28 of their number to seats in the House of Lords for life, and should, by a like election, supply all vacancies, and that all such of the electing Peers as are not now Peers of Great Britain, or shall be created Peers of the United Kingdom, shall be capable of being elected and sitting in the United House of Commons. Should, however, the last provision be thought to bear hard on the leading Commoners of Ireland, the Peers to whom this right is proposed to be given may be restrained from being elected by any county, city, or borough, within that part of the United Kingdom.

Considering the number and the professional character of the spiritual Peers of Ireland, it has been thought desirable that they should take their seats by rotation among the archiepiscopal and episcopal Sees respectively, so that one Archbishop and three Bishops may be to sit in each Parliament. But I incline to think that your Excellency will be disposed

to collect the opinions of the Primate, or of such other prelates as are within your reach, on the mode in which it is most becoming that that reverend body should be represented, previous to the public discussion of any proposal respecting it.

By this plan it is evident that the Irish Lords, as well spiritual as temporal, will be much less under the influence of the Crown, and at the same time will be free from the operation of private cabal. Should the temporal Peers of Ireland be desirous of retaining in the United Parliament the right they now possess of sitting in the British House of Commons, it will occur to your Excellency that a question of some difficulty must unavoidably arise, respecting the privileges of Peerage, which, though I am not prepared to offer you a solution of it, would not, I should hope, much retard or embarrass the conclusion of the measure when it has attained such a state of advancement.

The only other point which it remains for me to mention respecting the election of the Peers is that no meeting whatever should be held for that purpose, but that lists containing the names of those for whom the Peers chose to vote (as is practised in the case of the Scotch Peers,) should be made and subscribed by them, and sent, properly authenticated, to the Speaker of the United House of Lords, who would be to deliver them sealed up at the Table, and that this should be the only mode by which the representatives of the Irish Peerage should be permitted to be chosen.

One of the greatest difficulties, however, which has been supposed to attend the project of Union between the two kingdoms is that of the expense and trouble which will be occasioned by the attendance of witnesses in trials of contested elections, or in matters of private business requiring Parliamentary interposition. It would, therefore, be very desirable to devise a plan (which does not appear impossible) for empowering the Speaker of either House of the United Parliament to issue his warrant to the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions in Ireland, or to such other person as may be thought more

proper for the purpose, requiring him to appoint a time and a place within the county, for his being attended by the Agents of the respective parties, and reducing to writing in their presence the testimony (for the Consents and Dissents, as the case may be) of such persons as, by the said Agents, may be summoned to attend, being resident within the county (if not there resident, a similar proceeding should take place in the county where they reside); and such testimony so taken and reduced into writing may, by such Chairman or by the Sheriff of the County, be certified to the Speaker of either House, as the case may be.

It seems difficult to provide, by a detailed Article of the Union, for the various regulations which such a proceeding may require; but the principle might perhaps be stated there, and the provisions left to be settled by the United Parliament. All questions respecting the admissibility, competency, or credibility of such evidence so certified must, of course, still remain with the House or Committee to whom it is to be produced; but it does not appear that in such cases there is any benefit of *viva voce* testimony, which might not equally be attained by written evidence in this form.

Perhaps, in arranging the details, it may be probably useful to consult the provisions now subsisting by the different Acts respecting the procuring evidence in the like manner for the East Indies.

The reference in Article 6 to the Tariff of the Commercial Treaty concluded with France in 1786, was intended to convey, in the most intelligible terms, the intention of establishing a moderate Tariff of equal duties, which should secure to the capitals of each country employed in manufacture the fair benefit of their respective markets: but as to the equal as well as the countervailing duties, which it is proposed shall be allowed as long as any difference remains in the internal duties of the two countries, I will procure for your Excellency a copy of the terms which were agreed upon in that respect when the Irish

Propositions were under consideration, and which were settled by persons of such experience and competence in matters of trade and commerce and the mutual interests of both kingdoms, that it will be evident to those who are most conversant in subjects of this nature that Ireland will have every reason to be satisfied with the substance of the Article.

With respect to Revenue, it is intended to propose for a given number of years a fixed proportion for the contribution of Ireland towards the peace establishment of the empire, and also a fixed proportion for her contribution towards the expenses of war. Whether the proportions shall be the same or different must be the subject of separate and detailed discussion; but, on the whole, as far as relates to the Peace establishment, it is not probable that, in the present arrangement of the business, Ireland will be called on for any additional expense beyond what would now be her establishment at the Peace, if the Union did not take place.

It will be necessary that the present Irish Revenue should be made perpetual (subject to repeal and substitution of taxes by the United Parliament), and that it should be appropriated towards defraying the proportion to be so fixed of the general Peace establishment, as well as the interest and Sinking Fund of the Irish debt, and the objects now provided for by annual grant of Parliament; and it may be matter of consideration whether any surplus of revenue beyond this proportion, which shall arise beyond the increased produce of the Irish taxes or from the extinction of debt, should be appropriated or reserved for the extra expences, or should, to any limited amount and for a given time, be applied to objects of local improvement.

It only remains for me to satisfy the inquiries which your Excellency has directed to be made respecting the mode of bringing forward the measure of the Union, and I therefore proceed to state to you what has appeared upon consideration to be the most advantageous course of proceeding on that subject; namely, that the British Parliament should adjourn to

the 22nd of January, the day on which I conceive you are to meet for the despatch of business, and that the measure should be recommended on the same day to both Parliaments; to that of this kingdom by a Message to both Houses, and to that of Ireland by your Excellency's speech from the throne; with which view, I will not fail, in pursuance of the desire you have communicated to me by Lord Castlereagh, to send your Excellency the draft of a paragraph for that purpose. The answer to the communications should in the first instance be quite general, and a day should be fixed for taking the subject into consideration, which day should be as nearly as may be the same in both countries, and should be sufficiently distant for a call of the House in Ireland; whether that call should be proposed by the opposers of the measure, or it should be thought advisable, (as I rather collect it may) that the proposal should come from Government; and, upon talking the matter over with Lord Castlereagh, it appears that, if your Parliament meets, as I conceive it will, on the 22nd of January, the 5th of February will not be an improper day to appoint for the first proceedings in the question of Union. On the 5th of February, then, or the day which may be fixed on, it does not appear to us that any other proceeding will be necessary than a joint address of the two Houses in each kingdom, expressing their disposition to promote so desirable an object on suitable terms, and requesting the King to appoint Commissioners of each kingdom to confer together, and to prepare a plan for that purpose to be submitted to His Majesty, and, if His Majesty shall think proper, to be laid before Parliament.

I reckon that such an Address would pass, if at all, in the course of the first full week in February; in the next six weeks I understand it would be impossible that the Irish Commissioners should come to England, on account of the business of the Parliament; but much and very valuable time would be saved, if it should be thought expedient that the British Commissioners should name a certain number of their body to go

to Ireland, to collect information there, and to confer with any Committee of the Irish Commissioners. If the persons selected for this purpose are well acquainted with the English and Irish trade, and particularly with the latter, more progress might be made towards a conclusion by a fortnight or three weeks of such discussion taking place upon the spot than in as many months of formal conferences between large bodies of Commissioners sitting in England.

The report which Lord Castlereagh will make you of the conversation which he has had with Sir John Parnell will prove to your Excellency our concurrence in your opinion respecting the propriety of bringing the leading members of Administration, and Sir John Parnell in particular, to a clear and distinct avowal of their sentiments and intentions with regard to the Union; and I desire to assure your Excellency, in the most explicit and unqualified terms, that every one of the King's servants as well as myself will consider themselves indissolubly obliged to use their best endeavours to fulfil whatever engagements your Excellency may find it necessary or deem it expedient to enter into for the purpose or with a view of accomplishing the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

I wish I may have succeeded in giving your Excellency the whole of the information you expected, and satisfying the doubts which may have suggested themselves to you on the consideration of the Articles; but, if I shall have failed, I shall have the satisfaction of thinking that the defect will be supplied by Lord Castlereagh, whose assistance we have had the benefit of at all the meetings which have been held upon the subject. I desire, therefore, to refer your Excellency to him, and to assure you I should most willingly have trusted to his report alone, would my duty have permitted me, in a case of such delicacy and importance, to have appeared to have shrunk from any part of the responsibility attached to my public situation.

I remain, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Rev. Dr. Troy to Lord Castlereagh.

North King Street, Dublin, December 24, 1798.

My Lord—In acknowledging the honour of your Lordship's favour of the 20th instant, I conceive it my duty to state that the adjourned meeting mentioned in my letter of the 15th to your Lordship, was held last Saturday at Lord Fingall's. Lord Kenmare was one of the many respectable persons, gentry and principal merchants of this city, who attended.

The general opinion of the meeting was that the Catholics, as such, ought not to deliberate on the Union as a question of Empire, but only as it might affect their own peculiar interests as a body; and on this it was judged inexpedient to publish any resolution or declaration at present; wherefore neither of any kind was proposed or suggested, and the meeting adjourned *sine die*. I have the honour to remain, &c., J. T. TROY.

PS. May I presume to request my compliments to Mr. Marshall?

Lord Castlereagh to the Earl of Shannon.

London, December, 1798.

My dear Lord—As I shall so soon have the pleasure of seeing you, details shall be postponed till we meet. I cannot however avoid troubling you with a few lines, to say that my communications here, I have no doubt, will prove satisfactory to you. There is the utmost anxiety to make the terms unexceptionably just between the two countries, and Ministers are determined upon its taking a wide range throughout the kingdom. Before we reach our port, we shall have many a rude blast. I trust our friends will not mind it, and we shall yet do well.

With the most perfect respect, I am, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

London, Monday, December 31, 1798.

My dear Lord—I have the honour of sending you enclosed a copy of the paper which my friend the Bishop of Meath

took the trouble of drawing for me, with a view to facilitate and expedite the reading of Defoe's History of the Union. I don't know whether he would like to have it known that he was the author of this paper, and I therefore must desire your Lordship not to mention his name without his permission.

I cannot send you these few lines without desiring you to let the Lord-Lieutenant know that I received this morning by Herbert, the messenger, his despatch of the 25th instant, which gives an account of the country, which does not much surprise me, or make me very uneasy; but appears to me, as well as an account which (I know) came from Lord Kilwarden, to contain the most powerful and unanswerable arguments for the necessity of a Union without delay. I must observe to your Lordship, *in confidence*, that Lord Kilwarden is completely frightened, so much so as to think a Union ought to be proposed almost for the purpose of retracting the proposal. Lord Ely called upon me this morning. He regretted much his not having met you on the road, and expressed disappointment at not finding you here. He professed to have formed no opinion respecting the Union, *of course*, intimated many doubts, and affected ignorance; and I am certainly not authorized to say more than that he is not averse from being *convinced* of the propriety of the measure.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Would it be impossible to convert the prophecy to a good purpose? Might not the Revolution which has been announced be interpreted to be their accession to a share of the Imperial power of the Empire? and, I believe you may safely venture to predict that the Dutch fleet will be no better able to interrupt that event this year than the last; and that France has it not in its power to give the Dutch any assistance, or the Irish any annoyance, by its ships or its troops.

P.

SUPPLEMENT.

Sketch of a Plan for strengthening the North.

Yeomanry Corps to be considerably augmented; augmentation to be neither paid, armed, nor clothed, except in case of invasion; to fall in with their respective corps on the first parade day in every month, and to receive pay for that day—to take the oath prescribed by the Act.

Generals of districts to confer with Captains of Yeomanry in the presence of their corps, that the numbers willing upon an emergency to do garrison duty may be accurately ascertained; garrisons to be appointed. In case of invasion, houses of persons notoriously disaffected to be converted into barracks for yeomanry, and the owners either put into confinement or ordered into towns, where they should be obliged to remain under a severe penalty; this to be privately arranged between general officers and captains of corps. Return of number of horses, cars, and carts that each corps would engage to furnish for the public service on the shortest notice.

If possible, Brigadier-General Knox for this service, in all the country west of the Bann and Lough Neagh.

All boats plying upon the Newry Canal, Upper and Lower Bann, Lough Neagh, and the Blackwater, to be registered with General Officer, and security required that they should be produced at certain places on the shortest notice.

Fort of Charlemont to be very amply supplied with arms, ammunition, specie, blankets, and tools for Pioneers. (In the Pioneer service the Yeomanry might be very useful). Querie,

a supply of pikes. Governor of Charlemont to have the commission of the peace for counties adjacent. No license for sale of liquors in vicinity of the Fort, on any account whatever, without consent of Governor.

Plan for a University for Ulster.

Five Royal Schools were established by Charles the First at Armagh, Dungannon, Raphoe, Enniskillen, Cavan. They are endowed with lands amounting to about 7000 profitable acres, and about 2000 bog: they are let at present for about £4000 a year. It is proposed that these grants of Charles the First should be revoked by the Crown, or annulled by Act of Parliament, if necessary, and regranted to the University to be established at Armagh, in trust, for the following purposes.

One fourth part of the produce of the lands to be divided in portions to five schoolmasters—Armagh, Dungannon, Raphoe, Enneskillen, Cavan.

One fourth part for the maintenance of Professors and Scholars in the University of Armagh.

One fourth part for the maintenance of Scholars in the University of Armagh.

One fourth part for keeping the buildings in repair, both of the University and the Schools.

The University of Armagh to consist of the Dean of Armagh, for the time being, to be Provost; the profits of the Deanery to be his salary.

The Librarian of Armagh to be a fellow in the present endowment.

The Astronomer of Armagh to be a fellow in the present endowment.

A Professor of Classical Learning and History.

A Professor of Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy.

A Professor of Moral Philosophy and Law.

A Professor of Divinity of the Church of England.

A Professor of Divinity for Dissenters.

Five junior Fellows.

Salaries for the five Professors to be £150 each; of the five junior fellows £50 each.

Forty Scholars, at £25 a year each; twenty of the said Scholars to be elected from the five Schools; twenty to be elected from such Dissenting Schools as shall be hereafter named. Dissenters to be eligible to Fellowships and Professorships.

The Salary for each Schoolmaster to be £100; if an Usher, to each, £60. £40 to be set apart for Premiums.

The sum bequeathed by the Primate of £5000 to be applied in building. Parliament to grant as much more as may be necessary. Government to allocate two livings to the University, and each of the Northern Bishoprics to allocate one.

The Primate to be Visitor, with power to name one of his suffragans to hold the annual commencement.

The Provost to be appointed by the Crown.

The Fellows to be elected by the majority of the Professors upon examination.

The Scholars to be elected upon examination by the Professors.

SCHOOLS.—*Surplus Funds.*

	Ready Money.	Annual Rent.
Erasmus Smith's Foundations	8,000	2,000
Royal Free Schools. The produce of the Lands belonging to these Schools, which are five in number, belongs to the Schoolmasters respectively, during their incumbency. These Lands produce about £4,500 per annum. If, after the decease of the present Masters, £1000 per annum should be thought sufficient for the succeeding Masters, there would be a saving of		3,500
The late Primate's Legacy towards building a University in Ulster	5,000	
	£13,000	£5,500

The Protestant Charity Schools have perpetual funds to the amount of £10,000.

The Annual Parliamentary grants have generally been from £10,000 to £13,000.

Note.

Suppose that the surplus of Erasmus Smith's funds, together with the late Primate's legacy, and one year's Parliamentary grant to the Protestant Charter Schools, was to be applied to the foundation of a College at Armagh, the Professorship of Astronomy, and the Library founded by the late Primate, might be made extremely useful.

If the four Provincial Schools are adopted instead of the Diocesan Schools, a certain number of the free scholars might be elected annually to scholarships in this new College, and succeed to Fellowships upon certain terms. This would animate and encourage the schools, and provide a cheap education for students in either of the learned professions.

[Indorsed, "Mr. Pelham's Notes."]

STATE OF THE PROTESTANT SCHOOLS IN IRELAND.

His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant desires that the Archbishops and Bishops will make the following inquiries throughout their Dioceses at their visitations in the ensuing year, and will cause their Registrars to return the answers to ——— at Dublin Castle before the first day of ———.

Queries respecting English Schools.

1. What is the number of benefices in the Diocese of ——?

2. What are the particular benefices in which there is an English School, according to the Statute of 8 Henry VIII., c. 15?

3. What is the number of children in each School, distinguishing their sexes?

4. In what are the children instructed in each School?

5. Who is the Schoolmaster? Is he a Protestant? has he any land assigned to him agreeably to the Statute of 8 George I., c. 12, 5 George II., c. 4.

Queries respecting Diocesan Schools.

1. Is there a Diocesan School in the diocese of ———?
2. Is there the ruin of a Diocesan School?
3. Is there any land, and what quantity, for the purpose of a Diocesan School?
4. What salary has the Diocesan Schoolmaster?
5. How many Scholars has he, distinguishing boarders and day scholars?

Queries respecting the Protestant Charter Schools and Nurseries.

1. Is there a Charter School in the Diocese ———?
2. What number of children does it contain, distinguishing the sexes?
3. Is the building in proper repair?
4. Are the children kept clean, properly clothed, and properly instructed?
5. Who is the Catechist? At what distance does he live from the School? Does he visit it constantly?
6. Do the members of the Local Committee visit the School frequently?

Observations on the Paper entitled "Queries respecting English Schools."

2. Instead of 8th Henry VIII., c. 15, it should be 28th Henry VIII., c. 15.

5. After these words, "Has he any land assigned to him pursuant to the statutes of 8th George I., c. 12, and 5th George II., c. 4," should be added, *or otherwise and how.*

Queries respecting the Protestant Charter Schools.

3. It is apprehended that all necessary information relative

to the Charter Schools can be best obtained by application to the Incorporated Society.

Improvements in English Schools.

3. It is here proposed that the incumbent may be required to pay a Schoolmaster in *each of his parishes* forty shillings by the year.

If it be thought expedient to found a School in *every* parish, ought not such Schools to be supported at the public expense?

By the 28th of Henry VIII., c. 15, every beneficed clergyman is obliged to keep, or cause to be kept, an English School in his *benefice* or *promotion*, at his own expense. And by the 12th of Elizabeth, c. 1, the Bishop of every diocese is obliged to pay one-third part and the clergy two-third parts of the salary of the diocesan Schoolmaster.

There are in Ireland twenty-two dioceses, in each of which there is a diocesan Schoolmaster, and there are about eleven hundred benefices, in each of which (as the law now stands) there is, or ought to be, a Schoolmaster, whose salaries are paid by the *clergy alone*.

Care certainly should be taken by every Bishop that these Schools should be established by every beneficed clergyman; that proper and well qualified Masters should be appointed; and that reading, writing, and arithmetic, should be taught to all the scholars, and the Church Catechism to such as are of the Established Church. But it probably will not be thought reasonable that any additional tax should be laid on the *clergy exclusively* for this purpose, especially considering that the original reason for laying *any such tax* on the clergy of Ireland (to which the clergy of England are not subject) is done away almost *in toto*, the beneficed clergy now being all able to speak English, and the people in general using the same language. But, should a School be founded in every parish, or any other more extensive plan of education than that now established by

law be adopted and supported by any new general taxes, the clergy, it is apprehended, would very cheerfully pay their proportion of such new taxes in common with the rest of the people. If such Schoolmasters were to receive an annual premium or reward, proportioned to the number of children in their respective Schools, and to the progress in learning made by each child, might it not excite a useful emulation?

Would it not be right that the Master of every School in the several parishes of each union should bring their respective scholars on every Sunday to the parish church, that the clergyman might examine them in the Catechism, &c.? If this should be required, it might tend to excite emulation among the masters and scholars, and prevent both from making Sunday a day of dissipation. Ought not *impropriate* parishes to be liable to sequestration, in like manner as appropriate parishes are, for the recovery of the diocesan schoolmaster's salary, by the statute 12th George I., c. 9, S. 5?

Improvements in the Protestant Charter Schools.

It is here proposed to change the situations of these Charter Schools. But it must be recollected that the Charter Schools and all the offices belonging to them are already built at a most considerable expense, and that large tracts of ground have been either given, or let at small rents, for the use of them, to the Incorporated Society. Therefore, to move them now, and erect new school-houses and offices, and procure new farms as appendages thereto, would be attended with very great expense, and it is doubted whether it would produce any one good effect which does not arise out of the present Schools.

Government can obtain from the Incorporated Society now as accurate an account of all the Charter Schools as could be furnished by the mode here proposed (page 7, No. 2). It is apprehended that the education of the lower orders of the people in Ireland (though capable of extension and improvement) is less defective than that of the higher ranks. For the

common people, there are many schools in almost every parish, where reading, writing, and arithmetic, are taught, which perhaps constitute the best education (with the addition of some religious instruction) that can be provided for such persons. To educate properly the nobility and gentry is a much more difficult science: and as experience has shown, that this is better understood in England than elsewhere, may it not be advisable (if sufficient funds can be found for the purpose) to establish two great Public Schools in proper parts of Ireland; one in which no teachers should be employed, in the first instance, who were not bred at Westminster School, and another in which the Masters should be persons who had been all educated at Eton?

By such means, the gentry of Ireland in general would derive all the advantages from the most improved education, which are now confined necessarily to the few whose circumstances enable them to seek them at a distance. And perhaps such an education would be found to be the most effectual mode to civilize the country in general.

It is not intended that in these Schools there should be a succession of Westminster and Eton Masters continually, nor any longer than until such Schools should be able to supply proper teachers out of the persons educated therein.

CHURCH LANDS AND BISHOPS' LEASES.

The Primacy has 100,000 acres; Derry, 70,000; Clogher, 80,000. The lands belonging to the Bishopries in Ireland are of great extent, especially those belonging to the Northern Sees. They cannot be let for a longer term than twenty-one years. The tenantry of Ireland will not improve lands on so short a tenure; whence it arises that the Church lands in Ireland are in a much worse state of cultivation than other lands. From the shortness of the leases, Bishops are often tempted not to renew with their tenants, in order, at the expiration of the

leases, to make beneficial leases to their families. This practice is growing common; the Bishop of Derry and the Archbishop of Cashel have made great estates to their families by this mode. These circumstances throw an odium on the Church possessions.

The present value of the Bishoprics in Ireland is as great as it ought to be, in relation to the different orders of the State. They are in value from £8000 to £2000 a year each. It would be a prudent and safe measure for the Church, if their present relative value to the fortunes of other classes could be preserved, without increase or diminution. It is a custom in some Sees to make annual renewals of leases, by which practice the fine becomes actually an increased rent. If this practice were universal, and if the rent and fine were to be turned into a corn rent, and not a money rent, the object of preserving the value of the Bishoprics, in their present relation to the fortunes of other classes, would be attained. Leases might then be granted for thirty-one years, or three lives. The tenantry of the Bishops would be in a state of security. Bishops' land would be equally cultivated and improved with other land.

1799.

The calamitous events which had desolated Ireland in the preceding year had finally determined the British cabinet to propose and to prosecute with vigour the long-contemplated measure of a legislative Union between the two countries, as the best means of preventing the recurrence of similar disasters. Though in Ireland the public mind began to be engaged towards the close of 1798 with this important question, it was first announced in the British House of Commons on the 22d of January by the following message from the King:—

George R. His Majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design for separating Ireland from this country cannot fail to engage the particular attention of Parliament; and his Majesty recommends it to the House to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating this design by disposing the Parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connexion essential for their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British Empire.

On the 31st of January, the measure was taken into consideration, when Mr. Pitt moved eight reso-

lutions as the basis of it. Mr. Sheridan proposed an amendment tending to negative those resolutions, which, on a division, were supported by 140 against 15 votes. In the House of Lords, the question on the address to his Majesty's message was carried without opposition. A committee was consequently appointed to draw up the address, which, after a conference with the Commons, was presented to the King as the joint address of both Houses.

The ferment still subsisting in various parts of the kingdom had induced the Government to bring in, through the Attorney-general Toler, a bill investing the Lord-Lieutenant with discretionary power to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and to establish martial law. In consequence of this enactment, the County of Antrim was proclaimed by order of General Nugent, and placed under martial law; and Mayo was also proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant. It may be that the powers delegated to inferior agents by this Act were, in some instances, overstepped either from revenge or malice, or, perhaps, in the improper and inexperienced exercise of authority. But, as it was impossible to distinguish the motives which actuated these excesses, many of which were, no doubt, prompted by zeal, intemperate, it is true, for the interests of the Government and the public, it was deemed necessary to provide an Act to indemnify all persons who had resorted to illegal measures. One of its provisions enacted that a jury should not convict, if magistrates could prove that, in what they had done,

they had acted for the purpose of suppressing rebellion.

The Irish Parliament met on the 22d of January; and, in consequence of the reference in the King's speech to the subject of a Union, a debate commenced upon it, which lasted for twenty-one hours, beginning at four o'clock, and ending at one on the following day. Mr. George Ponsonby moved an amendment, which was very strongly supported, and lost by a majority of one only; the numbers being 105 to 106. On the 24th, the Report on the Address was brought up, and Sir Lawrence Parsons moved the omission of the paragraph relative to the Union: another debate ensued, 109 voting for, 104 against its being expunged. On this rejection, the City of Dublin, which had conceived a particular antipathy to the measure, from a notion that it would affect its interests and prosperity, was thrice illuminated. In the House of Peers, however, there was a majority in favour of Union. Still, no decided opinion had been expressed by the Commons against the principle of a Union; and the Lords, by retaining the paragraph relating to it, had so far decided in its favour. The subject was accordingly revived, and brought, on various occasions, before the House. On one of these, the discussion of the Regency Bill, introduced by the late Prime Sergeant Fitzgerald, the House being then in Committee, Mr. Foster, the Speaker, delivered a speech of three hours against the Union, attacking the statements with which Mr. Pitt accompanied his Resolutions, and superciliously pronouncing his

speech "a paltry production." On the 18th of April, when the Report on the Regency Bill was brought up, the subject of the Union was again gone through, but, after an animated debate, further proceedings were put off, on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, till the 1st of August.

The remainder of the year was occupied in unremitting exertions on the part of the Government to ensure a successful result, when the important measure of the Union should be again brought before Parliament in the ensuing session. A tour made by the Lord-Lieutenant in the autumn was rendered subservient to that great object; for the friends of the Government availed themselves of this opportunity to procure addresses to his Excellency from the various towns and places through which he passed. Indeed, it behoved its supporters to make the most strenuous efforts of every kind for effecting their purpose; for the leaders of the Opposition exerted equal activity and assiduity to counteract it: and it was stated that the sum of £100,000, to which Lord Downshire contributed £1000, and the two Ponsonbys £500 each, was subscribed, in order to purchase seats to bring into Parliament members to vote against the Union; but the money paid for this purpose was returned to the subscribers. A second plan was to find able men to write it down. Mr. Grattan refers to a third plan, which the Opposition members contemplated adopting, and which he palliates by alleging that "it would have merely been acting on the principle laid down by the Castle."

"A meeting of the friends of Government had been convened"—I continue to quote Mr. Grattan—"and the persons who were to support the several articles of Union were brought forward. Several members spoke on this occasion, and among them was Mr. St. George Daly: he was one of the boldest, particularly active, and quite decided. He declared (those were his words) that his line had been taken, and that each of them must select their man; and that he had chosen his antagonist already."[1] It requires something more than the mere *ipse dixit* of a professed advocate of the assassination of political adversaries to believe this story.

During the whole of this year, the northern parts of France rang with the preparation of armaments, professedly destined for distant quarters, but manifestly directed against Ireland. These movements continued to excite the most vigilant attention of the English Government; and the numerous circumstantial reports of the proceedings of the enemy along their whole northern coast prove that it had agents equally attentive. If small divisions did occasionally succeed, under particular circumstances of wind or weather, in stealing out of port, encountering the flying squadrons of those daring and active officers, Sir John Borlase Warren and Sir Edward Pellew, they either fell into the hands of the *sea-devils*, as our gallant tars were named by the French, or, baffled and beaten back, were obliged to run the

[1] Life and Times of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, by his Son, Henry Grattan, Esq., M.P. Vol. i., pp. 73-4.

gauntlet through our blockading fleets to regain their own harbours.

To these disasters, in detail, was added the surrender of the whole Dutch fleet in the Helder to the naval division of the expedition sent to Holland in the month of August. Though the primary object of that expedition, the liberation of the United Provinces from the sway of France, was not accomplished, still, the greater part of the Dutch navy fell, on this occasion, into the power of Britain—a result which relieved her government from all apprehension of further annoyance from that quarter.

The Letters of this period afford evidence also of the watchful eye kept upon the proceedings of the United Irish refugees at Hamburg, to whom the attention of Sir James Craufurd, the English Minister there, was vigilantly directed. Such was the dread then entertained of the intrigues of secret political societies by the Sovereigns of Europe, that the Emperor Paul of Russia exercised all his influence with the Senate of Hamburg for the delivery of Napper Tandy, who, after his abortive expedition to Ireland, had taken refuge in their city, to Sir James Craufurd; and he was, in consequence, given up and sent to Ireland.

It required no profound consideration to convince the Irish Government of the policy of making friends among all political parties and all religious persuasions. Under such circumstances, the state of the two principal divisions of the Irish nation, the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians, and the means of engaging

the good-will of both, could not fail to become a subject of deep interest and of serious inquiry. I consider that the papers respecting the former, in particular, must command attention at all times, and that they may be referred to, at the present crisis, with peculiar advantage. Being independent of the Correspondence, they are annexed in the Supplement.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Secret and Confidential. January 2, 1799.

My Lord—The renewed activity of the disaffected, which I had the honour of stating to your Grace in my despatch of the 21st to have been particularly observable in the Counties of Down and Antrim, has not yet been productive of any open effort. With what immediate view this attempt, which has been very general, was made to set the lower orders again in motion, it is difficult precisely to trace. I have no reason to believe that it was occasioned by any feelings arising out of the question of Union. In the North, an idea of co-operation from abroad prevailed, and this expectation may have been connected with the preparations going forward in the Texel.

The Catholics, as a body, still adhere to their reserve on the measure of Union. The very temperate and liberal sentiments at first entertained or expressed by some of the most considerable of that body were by no means adopted by the Catholics who met at Lord Fingall's, and professed to speak for the party at large. Whether it was their original sentiment to oppose the Union unless their objects were comprehended in it, or whether this disposition was taken up when they observed Government to be either weakly supported or opposed by the Protestants, it is difficult to determine. Certain it is, they now hold off, which can only arise either

from an original disinclination to the measure, or an expectation that Government will be driven to a compliance with their wishes in order to carry it. What line of conduct they will ultimately adopt, when decidedly convinced that the measure will be persevered in on a Protestant principle, I am incapable of judging. I shall endeavour to give them the most favourable impressions, without holding out to them hopes of any relaxation on the part of Government, and shall leave no effort untried to prevent an opposition to the Union being made the measure of that party; as I should much fear, should it be made a Catholic principle to resist the Union, that the favourable sentiments entertained by individuals would give way to the party feeling, and deprive us of our principal strength in the South and West, which could not fail, at least for the present, to prove fatal to the measure.

The clamour against the Union continues in Dublin and its neighbourhood. The County is to assemble on Friday; there can be no doubt of the result.

I do not understand that, as yet, any steps have been taken for calling any other County meetings.

I understand Mr. Saurin was this day employed in soliciting the officers of the different corps of yeomanry in Dublin to sign a paper stating their determination to lay down their arms in case the measure of Union was brought forward. He was refused by Mr. John Beresford, who expressed his strongest disapprobation of the attempt. I much fear Mr. Saurin's conduct will render it necessary for me to submit, through your Grace, to his Majesty the indispensable necessity of withdrawing from him those professional distinctions, of which his former conduct had rendered him so deserving.

The accounts from the Provinces are, upon the whole, favourable. Cork certainly is at present perfectly well disposed to the measure. Should it be thought politic to encourage a declaration from that City, I have reason to believe it might be obtained.

Limerick, Waterford, and Wexford, though less eager on the question, are understood to be inclined to the measure.

The appearances in the North are by no means discouraging. Belfast has shown no disinclination, at which some of the violent party in Dublin are not less surprised than indignant.

In Derry, the most respectable merchants are decidedly for the measure; and I have understood, from several persons lately returned from the North, whose information deserves credit, that the linen trade, looking to secure for ever the protection they now enjoy in the British market, are friendly to the principle. Newry is quiet on the question, and disposed to consider it fairly.

The Orangemen in the North have followed the example of the Dublin lodges in declining to interfere as Orangemen. I trust this instance of moderation will have weight with the yeomanry, and preserve them from the influence of the very pernicious example endeavoured to be set them from hence.

I shall have the honour of acknowledging your Grace's despatch, delivered to me by Lord Castlereagh, in which all the important features of the measure are most distinctly and comprehensively treated, as soon as I have had an opportunity of making the necessary communications to the leading individuals, for which I feel myself now fully prepared by the very decided authority I have received, and the very ample instructions with which your Grace has favoured me.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, January 2, 1799.

My Lord—Although the period of time which has elapsed since my arrival has not permitted me to inform myself with much accuracy of the circumstances passing here with which

your Grace might wish to be acquainted, yet I cannot suffer the messenger to depart without endeavouring, in some degree, to obey your Grace's commands, by sending you such details as may not in themselves be of sufficient magnitude to make a part of the Lord-Lieutenant's official communication.

The inflammation in Dublin is extreme, but is as yet confined to the middling and higher classes. The lower orders are naturally indifferent to the question, but will be easily set in motion, should their co-operation become of importance to the leading opposers of the measure. It is said Mr. Saurin has been but too successful amongst the officers of the Attorneys' and Merchants' Corps, in persuading them to lay down their arms. Dr. Duigenan, whose opinions on the question are strongly favourable, is, I understand, shaken by the Protestant cabal in the city, with which he is much connected. Mr. Ogle, from his not having replied to my letter, I fear is similarly affected. I shall see Dr. Duigenan to-morrow, and shall endeavour to reanimate him. Your Grace will easily conceive that the measure cannot be expected to be *peculiarly grateful* to the members of either House of Parliament: this naturally creates a decrease of zeal in our friends, and their spirits are not a little damped by the clamour of Dublin. I have found that the decided language which the Lord-Lieutenant has been authorized by your Grace to hold to them has the best effects, and will, I have no doubt, encourage them to give us a decided support.

Nothing but an established conviction that the English Government will never lose sight of the Union till it is carried can give the measure a chance of success. The friends of the question look with great anxiety for Mr. Pitt's statement: it is not only of the last importance, from the ability with which the subject will be handled, but from the opportunity it will afford him of announcing to this country the determined purpose of Government in both kingdoms to be discouraged neither by defeat nor difficulty, but to agitate the question again and

again till it succeeds. This principle is the foundation of our strength, and cannot be too strongly impressed on this side of the water. I have stated it without reserve to several, and it has universally been received by them as a pledge of our success, and that, with a purpose so manly, our friends cannot hesitate to stand by us.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Most Secret. Whitehall, January 7, 1799.
20 minutes past 5.

My dear Lord—Immediately on the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 2nd inst., marked most secret, I waited on the Duke of Portland, at Burlington House, who, without loss of time, wrote both to Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville on that part of the letter which seemed to press the most, and I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that a messenger will be sent off from hence in the course of to-morrow, with the remittance particularly required for the present moment; and the Duke of Portland has every reason to hope that means will soon be found of placing a larger sum at the Lord-Lieutenant's disposal: but upon this point I shall probably have occasion to write to your Lordship again to-morrow, as well as on the subject of the Emigrants, to whom your Lordship alludes in the latter part of your letter.

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Circular to Members of Parliament.

Dublin Castle, January 7, 1799.

Sir—I am directed by my Lord-Lieutenant to acquaint you that business of the greatest importance will be submitted to Parliament on the first day of the Session, and his Excellency trusts that it will suit your convenience to be in town previous

to that time, when I shall hope to have an opportunity of communicating with you upon the measures to be brought forward.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. Colonel King.

Dublin Castle, January 7, 1799.

My dear Sir—I should not have presumed to trouble you with the request contained in my last, but from an earnest desire to take the earliest opportunity of communicating with you on the important measure which his Majesty's Ministers have felt it their duty to propose to the Parliaments of both kingdoms. His Majesty will in his speech recommend to the Irish Parliament to take into their early consideration the means of drawing closer the connexion; and it is intended to propose, as soon after as the House can be called over, the enabling the Crown to appoint Commissioners to speak on the part of each country, and to submit to Parliament a plan of a Legislative Union for their consideration. This proceeding will admit of the measure being fully understood by the country before it is brought to a decision.

I shall be anxious for a meeting, to explain to you the outline of the arrangement which is in contemplation, and hope that a measure, which appears to his Majesty's confidential servants essential to the interests of both countries, may meet with your support.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, January 7, 1799.

My Lord—I have to apologize to your Grace for omitting to enclose the sketch alluded to in my last letter, which has already given a more favourable aspect to appearances in

Dublin. The terms are considered as highly liberal, the proportionate arrangement of the expences having completely overset the argument on which the enemies of the measure had hitherto principally relied, namely, the extension of English debt and taxation to Ireland.

I have the honour to enclose the draft of an address which, it is expected, will be sent up from Cork this morning from Lord Boyle, whose sentiments, I am happy to find, are in perfect unison with Lord Shannon's, indeed, warmly so. I mention this with the more satisfaction, as it was intimated to me in England, and repeated by several persons since my return, that his Lordship was adverse to a Union, and disposed to use his influence with Lord Shannon against the measure. Our friends begin to declare themselves openly, and there is an observable hesitation in the opposers of the question. They give us credit for sufficient strength to carry the measure, which is in itself a principle of support.

Mr. Saurin called on me to-day. I had a very long conversation with him. I am inclined to think he will not persevere in his purpose of laying down his arms.

The Catholics still continue against us. The Chancellor writes from Limerick that he has reason to believe that orders to that effect have been sent down there within these few days. Lord Caulfeild[1] has gone down to do what mischief he can at Armagh: the outline which is in circulation will counteract him in some degree. Very fortunately, the Speaker is still detained at Holyhead. Mr. Elliot left yesterday: on his arrival, he will find individuals pretty well informed, as well on the general features of the measure as of the determination of Government. He told me that his reason for not going by the north was, lest he should be pressed by the linen trade for an opinion. I hope the same spirit of exertion may attend him on landing.

[1] Son of the Earl of Charlemont, one of the principal leaders of the Opposition.

Colonel Fitzgerald, Member for the County of Cork, inferior to no man in personal respectability, is strongly with us. He assured me to-day that he would take whatever part was wished in the debate. Lord Tyrawley has enlisted heartily. The necessary personal attention being paid him will gain many very respectable county members from Mayo, together with his other friends. Sir John Blaquiere is disposed to exert himself very much. I mention to your Grace individuals as they occur. I shall do myself the honour of sending you a corrected list, as soon as I can account for individuals more satisfactorily.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin, January 9, 1799.

My Lord—I have the pleasure to inform your Grace that the address, a copy of which I had the honour of enclosing in my last, has passed the Council of Cork unanimously. A great number of the principal inhabitants waited on the Council to express their approbation of their Resolutions, a copy of which I enclose. It will be submitted to the freemen at large in a few days, and it is expected that it will receive a very general support. I am not without hopes that Waterford and Limerick and Londonderry may follow their example.

The Speaker is arrived. I have not yet seen him, but understand his language is very hostile. We are making every exertion to collect our strength on the first day of the Session; much depends in this country at all times on first impressions; it is therefore important to assume a tone of confidence, and to avow at the outset boldly the measure to which the speech alludes. Decided language on the address will strengthen us in our future proceedings. It is better to provoke the discussion than to wait for the attack. I shall

endeavour to prevail on the Chancellor to make one of his strong speeches in the Lords, which, thrown into circulation, will have its effect.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord Longueville.

Dublin Castle, January 9, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have received with great satisfaction your Lordship's letter enclosing the proceedings at Cork. Your Lordship's exertions have rendered a very important service to the King's Government on this as on former trying occasions. Nothing can be better conceived than the words of the address. I trust it may be equally well received by the freemen, and that the sentiment it breathes may pervade the province. The North is, upon the whole, well inclined to the measure; Dublin still clamorous, but is too ignorant of the measure to be steadily disinclined.

I shall be very happy indeed, my dear Lord, to meet you, and trust every thing will succeed to your wishes.

Most faithfully, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, January 10, 1799.

My dear Lord—In answer to that part of your Lordship's letter of the second instant, which relates to the prisoners whom it is wished to send to Hamburg,[1] I am truly sorry

[1] In the beginning of December, the several State Prisoners had received an official intimation that they might then go to any part of the continent of Europe not at war with Great Britain, and that, if they did not depart in the course of a month, they must remain in prison at their own cost, as the Government allowance would then cease. From this release were excepted Arthur O'Connor, T. A. Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, Samuel Neilson, John Sweetman, John Chambers, Matthew Dowling, Thomas Russell, John Sweeny, Hugh Wilson, Joseph Cuthbert, John

to say that it is not yet in my power to send you a satisfactory answer. Under the circumstances attending the arrest of Napper Tandy and his associates, both the Duke of Portland and Lord Grenville are anxious that no persons of that description should be sent *publicly* to Hamburg, at least, not till after the result of this affair shall be known.

It is therefore anxiously wished that his Excellency would not send any of these gentlemen either here or to Hamburg in a body, but, if at all, as privately as possible, and one by one, until further information shall have been procured by Lord Grenville of the disposition of the people of that State to receive them; as the difficulty would be greatly increased were they to be rejected on their arrival, and refused permission to disembark.

The Duke of Portland desires me, at the same time, to say that his Excellency may be assured that the utmost attention will be immediately paid to this subject, and that there is the strongest wish to relieve him from the unpleasant situation in which every one is well aware that the Irish Government must necessarily be placed by these people remaining in the country.

With respect to the leading State Prisoners, there is a strong disposition to adopt a former suggestion of the Lord-Lieutenant as to the possibility of removing them to the Forts in the Highlands of Scotland; and inquiry will be immediately made as to the possibility of their being received, lodged, and secured there: but strong doubts are entertained of the legality of the measure under the existing laws, and it is thought that recourse must be had to the Legislature.

Believe me, with the truest regard, &c.

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Cormick, and Dean Swift, who were informed that particular circumstances prevented the Lord-Lieutenant from permitting them to leave the prison at that time.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Secret. London, Friday, January 11, 1799.

My dear Lord—I believe I have written as fully as you could expect to the Lord-Lieutenant upon all the points in which you wish to hear from us, and at such times, and upon subjects of that sort, you must allow me to desire you to consider letters addressed to him as much answers to those I receive from you as if they were directed to yourself. However, I cannot let the post go, without thanking you for the very satisfactory letters I received from you yesterday and to-day, and congratulating you in particular upon the address from Cork, which I shall be most happy to convey to his Majesty, and which I hope will be a signal for the good sense of the rest of Ireland to show itself. It is more necessary upon account of our Militia than I should wish, or than many may choose to believe: at the same time, it is impossible not to feel a certain degree of pride and satisfaction in the motive which occasions this necessity, as it is a love of liberty, though it may be mistaken or carried to excess. However, you should be aware that the necessity may exist, that, if no disposition to harm should be shown in Ireland, our Militia may consider it entirely as a Ministerial measure, and be more inclined to countenance than to resist the opposition to it, should it even proceed to acts of violence and outrage. A letter I saw yesterday makes me feel it necessary to give you this intimation, which is, of course, of the most secret nature; I hope it will be rendered of no consequence by the spirit which will show itself in the South and North, and by the endeavours which I will exert myself in procuring to be made, to relieve you from a part of the suspense which the dependence upon a force which can decide the duration of its assistance must necessarily expose you to. I am sorry to say Lord Ely holds a very loose language indeed; he told me, and he has repeated it since, that he has not yet formed any opinion; and I know

that he has said that he had not yet heard anything to convince him of the necessity or utility of a Union. The Archbishop of Cashel acknowledges himself disinclined, but professes great and earnest desire to support Government. He thinks that the spiritual Lords should *be represented by the four Archbishops*. I really wish you joy of Lord Carleton. I shall be glad to see the 113 upon paper: from what your Lordship *now* tells me, I should hope that many of them will prove buckram men.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord, sincerely yours,

PORTLAND.

I hope you do not mean to go into the House with two of your *Commissioners* in opposition to the House.

Lord Camden to the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart.[1]

Arlington Street, January 11, 1799.

Dear Charles—I am surprised I should not have heard from you in consequence of the strong measures which are about to take place in the 5th Dragoons. In Lord Cornwallis's representation of their state of insubordination and indiscipline, he does you great justice, and says that, meritorious as your conduct is, it is impossible that you, with all the rest of the officers in combination against you, can restore the regiment to discipline. I find it is likely the regiment is to be broke, and I could not satisfy myself without inquiring from the Duke of York how the regiment was to stand. He means to advise the King that it shall be broke, but that you shall remain on pay till you are appointed to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in another regiment of Dragoons, which will take place very soon. The Duke said that, so far from this event being of any detriment to your military objects, your exertions have been very great, and do you great credit. I thought it would be satisfactory to you to hear *this*. Ever yours,

CAMDEN.

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[1] Now third Marquess of Londonderry.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Secret. Dublin Castle, January 11, 1799.

My Lord—I feel it necessary to apprize your Grace that a very unfavourable impression has been made within the two last days against the Union, partly by the arrival of the Speaker, but still more by its being generally circulated and believed in town, that both Lord Downshire and Lord Ely are adverse to the measure.

There seems but too much reason to apprehend, from some expressions in a letter of Lord Downshire's to Lord Castlereagh, that his Lordship's opinion is, at best, unsettled on the subject; and, by the enclosed copy of a letter from Lord Ely to a friend here, it is evident that his support can by no means be relied on.

Your Grace will observe that Lord Ely's expressions are *verbatim* those of the Speaker, Lord Downshire, Lord Cork, &c. It is reported that he means to bring Mr. Luttrell forward, who has been peculiarly active in London against the measure, which, if true, is not only a proof of his Lordship's present sentiments, but of the school in which they have been formed. It appears, by his letter, that he has been living with the Archbishop of Cashell, from whom he would infallibly receive similar impressions.

I need not press upon your Grace's attention the insuperable difficulties so unexpected and so important a defection as this must occasion in the accomplishment of the measure. It not only transfers 18 votes in the Commons to the Opposition, but strikes a damp among the supporters of the measure, which may operate in a fatal extent against us.

Lord Castlereagh has been endeavouring to bring forward the friends of the measure to declare their sentiments openly, and with some success, notwithstanding the natural apprehension of committing themselves in so important a contest without being assured how the strength will lie; but he finds the

unfortunate circumstances above alluded to have thrown new and considerable impediments in his way.

In stating these considerations to your Grace, I have only most earnestly to entreat that every possible effort may be made on your side of the water to overcome the difficulties of these important characters, and to send us whatever assistance can be collected from thence.

I conclude that his Majesty's Ministers will feel, whatever may be the issue of the present attempt, that they owe it not less to themselves than to the Empire, and particularly to those individuals who, at their instance, and under their assurance of a decided support, have been induced to declare themselves in favour of the measure, to bring it into discussion with every advantage which decision on their part can give it. Should it fail, it will require a very mature consideration how the powers of the State can be best exercised, with a view to its future success, without materially impeding the present administration of the Government.

I have already felt it a question of considerable delicacy to decide in what instances and at what period it was expedient to remove persons from office who have either taken a decided line against the measure, or, who, without acting publicly, hold a language equally prejudicial to its success, and equally inconsistent with their connexion with Government. In the instance of Mr. J. C. Beresford, whose conduct has been very hostile at many of the Dublin meetings, the difficulty has been peculiarly felt. With a view of impressing our friends with the idea of our being in earnest, his dismissal seemed desirable; on the other hand, as we profess to encourage discussion, and neither to precipitate Parliament or the country on the decision, much less to force it against the public sentiment, there seemed an objection to a very early exercise of ministerial authority on the inferior servants of the Crown.

I have, therefore, thought it expedient to proceed, in the

first instance, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer,[1] who has not been altogether punctual in his engagement with Lord Castlereagh, of being here on the 10th, and not being yet arrived; and shall then proceed, according to circumstances, or such directions as I may receive from your Grace, with the inferior members of the administration.

There certainly is a very strong disinclination to the measure in many of the borough proprietors, and a not less marked repugnance in many of the official people, particularly in those who have been longest in the habits of the current system. The secondary interests of course look to it as the destruction of their authority, and the leading interests as exposing them to fresh contests. These impressions, connected with the natural expectation which every individual forms of deriving some personal advantage by the change, make its accomplishment full of difficulty. The steady purpose of the English Government, and the natural authority of the State in this kingdom, will counteract these principles in a great degree; but weighty names may encourage a general resistance, which would certainly leave those who are supporters of the measure, from a conviction of its necessity, in a minority.

I have taken the necessary steps for encouraging declarations from the towns of Limerick, Waterford, Derry, and Newry, as far as they can be obtained without too strong an appearance of Government interference, and am employed in counteracting, as far as possible, the County meetings, which are extending themselves.

I have endeavoured to impress upon your Grace the extent of the difficulties we have to surmount. Your Grace may depend on every exertion in my power to promote the success of a measure which I feel to be essential to the British interests in this kingdom.

I have the honour to be, &c., C.

[1] Sir John Parnell, who was removed from that office, and replaced by the Right Hon. Isaac Corry.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, January 11, 1799.

My dear Lord—I know not what to make of the intelligence received from Brest, which will be transmitted to you together with this letter. I should not be at all surprised if the French should make an attempt to throw some forces into Ireland, if it were only in the hope of increasing the disorder, which they may naturally suppose must exist during the agitation of the question of the Union.

I know besides, notwithstanding the language that some of them might hold in Ireland, that most of the officers who have returned to France prisoners from the expedition under General Hardy, entertain a very mean opinion of the troops to which they were opposed, and are impressed with the idea which they will not fail to inculcate at the Luxembourg that, had they landed but 6000 men instead of 1200, they should have secured the country. The vanity natural to Frenchmen makes them persuaded of the truth of what they say; and I have reason to know that the officers who passed through this town on their way to Dover, one and all, maintained that, had the second expedition effected its landing, the island could have been their own.

We are at this moment destitute of intelligence, on account of the Elbe's being frozen, and I cannot help fearing that, even when a thaw shall take place, we shall not find our information from thence as important as it has been, and that we shall learn, on the contrary, that the French have opened some new channel of communication that we are not able to discover at present, which, as long as smuggling shall exist, they may very easily do. In the mean time, it appears from the enclosed very curious papers, which the Duke of Portland desires may be laid before the Lord-Lieutenant, and afterwards destroyed, or preserved in some other shape, that our countrymen are not idle; and your Lordship will not be surprised to

find Lady Edward Fitzgerald among the most active. The next Hamburg mail may bring us a farther account of Mr. Morris. In the mean time, this expedition fitting out at Brest seems to coincide pretty well with the time that that gentleman's Memorial, if acted upon at all, may have required for consideration, and for orders to have been given in consequence to the ports. I beg your Lordship, however, to observe that these are merely my own conjectures.

I send this letter by the post, by which conveyance I am also determined to send you the remaining parts of your bank bills, a messenger having been in readiness to set out for Ireland every hour for these last three days, and, one circumstance or another having prevented his departure hitherto, I am fearful of a continuance of the same delay.

I am ever, with sincere regard,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

PS.—I do not find that any very late intelligence has been received from the Texel.

Most Secret.

Memorial of Citizen Hervey Montmorency Morres, late of Knockalton, in the County of Tipperary, Ireland, to Citizen Bruix, Minister of the Marine and French Colonies,

Sheweth,

That Memorialist has been a United Irishman since the month of November, 1796: that in May, 1797, he was regularly chosen a county representative for Tipperary, and nominated Colonel of the Regiment of Nenagh Infantry. In February, 1798, he was attached to the general Military Committee, and soon after appointed to the Adjutant-Generalship of Munster.

Memorialist, having been deemed by the Irish Directory, from the number of years he had been in the army, and the large portion of actual service he formerly experienced, to be a proper subject to fill this office, from this time was uncommonly

active in forwarding the organization in his province, and, subsequent to the arrest of the 12th March, he was taken into the Executive, and made an effective member of the Military Committee of Ireland.

Upon the 28th of April last, an attempt was made by the Government to have Memorialist with several of his officers arrested, and, on your Memorialist's escaping from his pursuers, his country-house was taken possession of, &c. From this time until the period of Lord Fitzgerald's massacre, Memorialist was continually engaged in working on the plans for the ensuing campaign, and in the intended attack upon the City of Dublin, he was to have the particular direction in the several attacks upon the batteries and magazine (or fort) in the Phœnix Park, which plan was frustrated by reason of the 'foresaid arrest, and a discovery made to the Government of the intentions of the Union.

Memorialist further sayeth that, on the 4th of June, he escaped from Dublin, and found means of holding himself concealed in the County of Westmeath until the arrival of the French General Humbert, at Killala. Memorialist not imagining that General Humbert would have risked a decisive battle with the British troops, particularly after he had supplied himself with a tolerable train of artillery, upon defeating General Lake. By the critical state of the inhabitants, Memorialist used every effort to restrain the ardour of the men of Westmeath, and prevented their rising, and exerted in like manner his influence in his own County of Tipperary to the same effect: but, upon hearing of General Humbert's passage of the Shannon, and rapid progress into the country, Memorialist thought it a duty to lend his aid, and did consequently assemble the men of Westmeath; and, taking post in the right flank of Lord Cornwallis's army, with a body of from two to three thousand ill-armed peasants and several chiefs of the Union, Memorialist made such dispositions as he judged might prove most favourable to the progress of the invading army.

Upon the defeat and subsequent surrender of General Humbert's corps, Memorialist disbanded his men, and, being pursued by a party of the King's troops and a body of Yeomen Cavalry, Memorialist narrowly escaped to Dublin, whence he got into England, and arrived at Hamburg on the 7th inst.

Memorialist is of opinion that, in case of future attempts upon Ireland on the part of France, the province of Munster, which abounds in good havens, and whose men are the best Republicans in Ireland, is the point to be looked to; and Memorialist thinks that the port of Wexford or Waterford, (Passage) while thought by our enemies to be most secure, would be one of the best places to land a fleet. For the rest, Memorialist implores the protection of the French Government for him and his family.

Extract of a Letter from M. Maragan to M. Talleyrand.

Most Secret. Hambourg, 29 Brumaire.

Monsieur Hervey Montmorency Morres, de Kivesallen, en Irlande, s'est présenté chez moi de la part de l'intéressante Lady Edouard Fitzgerald, il a été mis hors la loi, et il craint de n'être pas en sureté à Hambourg. Il étoit ami intime du feu Lord E. Fitzgerald; il a dès-lors acquis des droits à l'intérêt de sa veuve: c'est à ce seul titre qu'elle s'est permis de le témoigner. Monsieur Morres a été chef d'un corps nombreux d'Irlandais Unis: il est ruiné de fond en comble par une suite de dévouement à la cause de la liberté. Il désire d'aller en France, où il a des choses importantes à communiquer; il attend au prémier jour un officier Français, qui a commandé quelque expédition, et il espère de faire avec lui ce voyage. Si ce moyen venoit à lui manquer, le Directoire n'ayant encore donné aucune décision relative aux Irlandais, je ne pourrois lui donner aucun passeport. Il semble cependant qu'il est des circonstances où une certaine latitude à cet égard pourroit avoir une utilité réelle.

Anonyme à Bruix.

Hambourg, Novembre 14, 1798.

Les nouvelles de Londres du 9 ne laissent aucun doute sur la rentrée du Hoche dans le port de l'ennemi; les infortunés Irlandais, qui s'étoient trouvés à bord sont déjà conduits à la capitale et ne se trouvent peut-être plus au nombre des vivans. Le point du débarquement fut mal choisi. Il ne faut plus passer au Nord de l'Irlande. Mes raisons se trouvent détaillées dans mon avant-dernière lettre. La division de Rochefort avoit paru dans les eaux de Killala, mais aucune certitude n'existe sur son sort. Une division ennemie, commandée par l'Amiral Howe, est à sa poursuite.

Il est arrivé dans cette ville un Irlandais refugié qui avoit quitté son pays le 22 Octobre. Il est connu d'un membre qui compose le Comité Secret des Irlandais unis établi à Hambourg comme un agent très actif pendant l'organisation Irlandaise. Il m'a prié de vous faire passer un mémoire; il est écrit en Anglais. Vous verrez alors vous même quel encouragement il mérite. Il est très récommandé par la veuve d'Edouard Fitzgerald, comme un ami intime du mari. Je crois qu'il pourra dévenir très utile dans une déscente dirigée vers son pays.

Je suis autorisé, citoyen Ministre par le Comité Secret des Irlandais unis de cette ville de vous prévenir qu'ils sont résolus de corréspondre avec vous sur tout ce qui pourra intéresser le sort d'Irlande.

Maragan à Talleyrand.

Most Secret. Hambourg, 3 Frimaire.

Dans une précédente lettre, j'ai dit, au sujet de l'Irlandais Monsieur Morres, que, pour se rendre à Paris, il attendoit un officier Français qui venoit de commander quelque expédition. Cet officier vient d'arriver: son nom est Tendy. Il n'est point Français, mais il est attaché au service de la République. Il paroît maintenant que Monsieur Morres ne veut pas faire ce voyage avec lui, et qu'il s'est déterminé d'attendre la décision du Gouvernement à son égard.

TRANSLATION.

Extract of a Letter from M. Maragan to M. Talleyrand.

Most Secret. Hambourg, 29 Brumaire.

M. Hervey Montmorency Morres, of Kivesallen, in Ireland, has called upon me, on the part of the interesting Lady Edward Fitzgerald: he has been outlawed, and fears that he is not safe at Hamburg. He was an intimate friend of the late Lord E. Fitzgerald's; he has, therefore, acquired a right to the kindness of the widow, and it is on this ground alone that she has allowed herself to express it. Mr. Morres was the leader of the numerous corps of United Irishmen: he is utterly ruined in consequence of his attachment to the cause of liberty. He wishes to go to France, where he has important matters to communicate. He is expecting from day to day an officer, who has commanded some expedition, and he hopes to make the journey with him. If this means should fail him, the Directory not having yet come to any decision respecting the Irish, it will not be in my power to give him a passport. It seems, however, that there are circumstances in which a certain latitude on this point might be of real utility.

Anonymous to Bruix.

Hambourg, November 14, 1798.

The news from London of the 9th leaves no doubt that the Hoche has arrived in an enemy's port. The unfortunate Irish who were on board have been already conveyed to the capital; and perhaps are no longer numbered among the living. The point for landing was ill chosen. We must give up bearing away for the north of Ireland. My reasons are detailed in my last letter but one. The Rochefort division had appeared off Killala, but there is no certainty respecting its fate. An enemy's division, commanded by Admiral Home, is in pursuit of it.

There is in this city an Irish refugee, who left his country on the 22nd of October. He is known by a member of the Secret Committee of United Irishmen established at Hamburg, as a very active agent during the Irish organization. He has requested me to forward a Memorial to you; it is written in English. You will then see yourself what encouragement he deserves. He is strongly recommended by the widow of Edward Fitzgerald, as an intimate friend of her husband's. I think he would be capable of doing very good service in any future expedition sent to his country.

I am authorized, citizen minister, by the Secret Committee of the United Irishmen of this city to apprize you that they have resolved to

correspond with you on all matters in which the interests of Ireland are concerned.

Maragan to Talleyrand.

Most Secret. Hamburg, 3 Frimaire.

In my present letter, I have said, concerning Mr. Morres, the Irishman, that, before he could set out for Paris, he was awaiting the arrival of a French officer, who had recently commanded some expedition. That officer has just arrived: his name is Tendy [Tandy]. He is not a Frenchman, but attached to the service of the Republic. It appears now that Mr. Morres will not travel with him, and that he has determined to await the decision of the Government respecting himself.[1]

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[1] The vessel in which Napper Tandy and his companions sailed to the coast of Ireland was driven by a storm to the coast of Norway, whence, apprehensive lest they might fall in with English cruisers at sea, they resolved to proceed to France by land. Intelligence of their object and route was received at Hamburg soon after their arrival there, on the 22nd of November. They were traced to the inn called the American Arms. Sir James Craufurd immediately waited on the chief magistrate, and applied for a warrant to apprehend those persons as Irish subjects in rebellion against their Sovereign, but could not obtain it. Not discouraged, however, he made three more applications, and at length obtained an order to the police to the desired effect. On the 24th, soon after four in the morning, Sir James, led by the officers of police, attended by a guard, went to the American Arms, which he completely invested, waiting till the doors were opened, between five and six, when he entered with his escort, which instantly occupied every passage. The master of the house, being then called and asked for the strangers by their travelling names, pointed out their several apartments. Early as it was, Napper Tandy was found writing. The officer who entered his room demanded his passport, which he said with great assurance he would produce; and, going to his trunk, he took out a pistol, which he presented at the officer saying, "This is my passport." The officer, a man of extraordinary bodily strength, seized and wrested the pistol from him. The guard, called by the scuffle, entered the room and secured Tandy; he and his associates were soon afterwards put in irons and confined, by order of Sir J. Craufurd, in separate guard-houses.

In the morning as soon as the circumstance was known, Maragan, Minister of France, sent a note to the Senate, claiming Tandy and his colleagues as French citizens, and threatening to leave Hamburg if they were not released: Sir James Craufurd, on the other hand, opposed the demand

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, January 11, 1799.

My Lord—I have the Duke of Portland's directions to transmit to your Lordship the enclosed letter from Captain Wolley, of the Arethusa frigate, to Mr. Nepean, containing some particulars relative to preparations going forward in the ports of Havre and Brest; and I am to desire that you will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant, for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Arethusa, off Havre, January 5, 1799.

Sir—A boat having got off from Havre yesterday, with a man from whom we are accustomed to receive intelligence, I have thought it proper to despatch the Thetis lugger to acquaint you that the ships' companies of the frigates and corvettes in the Basin have been taken out within these few days, and marched off to Brest by land, a few men only being left on board of each ship, they still wishing to appear in a state of preparation for sea. Men are also left to man some of the flats and gun-boats for the protection of the town. They are also transporting, at a great expense, by land carriage, a quantity

in terms equally strong. In this perplexity, the Senate held on Saturday evening at five o'clock an extraordinary deliberation, which lasted till midnight. Another meeting was held, and the Senate, against the will and remonstrance of Sir James Craufurd, ordered two of the prisoners to be unironed. Tandy was in a bad state of health. The French chargé d'affaires, Le Maitre, apprehensive for the fate of the prisoners, offered a considerable sum of money to an officer of the Hamburg regulars who had the guard, to permit their escape; but he indignantly refused it, and proclaimed the attempt to dishonour him.—(*Ann. Reg.*, vol. xl., *Chronicle* 101, 2.)

In the same work it is said, under date of December 7: The English Cabinet have sent over instructions to their agents at Hamburgh to insist on detaining Napper Tandy, Blackwell, and the other Irishmen in the military service of France lately arrested at that place.

of sails and cordage to Brest, where it is reported a large armament is equipping. I am, &c.,

Evan Nepean, Esq. THOMAS WOLLEY.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Henry Alexander[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Armagh, January 12, 1799.

I have, my Lord, to request that this letter may be considered as an extra-official paper, only weighing as confirmed by other circumstances, at the most, leading to a hint.

I consider the proclaimed mendicancy of the Speaker by Mr. Ball the low cunning of a madman attempting to plunge a man of sense irrevocably in an abyss. It seems a purchase for fluctuating integrity, but, my Lord (excuse my hint), be prepared for the worst.

The *Dementat prius* has seized Buonaparte, may seize Foster, for the grand effect, and if he refuses all composition or good understanding, be prepared for his declining the seat to give energy to his opposition. Rely upon it, he will either join you, or that he has arrayed an opposition in England, from which he hopes to shake the English Administration, or that he will be led further than he means—I shudder to state how far. But, if he does not explain himself, be prepared for the contingency of his declining the temporary possession of the chair, and think of the contingency.

I beg, my Lord, you will not record this possibly absurd conjecture, but attribute it to the inspiration of the blue devils and a solitary ride. Believe it also a proof of the confidence I have in your goodness, and that I am yours most truly,

H. ALEXANDER.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, January 12, 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, by the Duke of

[1] M.P. for Londonderry, Chairman of the Ways and Means.

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Portland's direction, a copy of a letter from the Prince of Bouillon to Mr. Huskisson, confirming the intelligence I had transmitted to your Lordship yesterday, of the preparations that are carrying on in the port of Brest. It should seem from this intelligence that the suspicions I had entertained of the enemy's having established a new mode of correspondence with the disaffected in Ireland were not without foundation. As this intelligence is communicated to the Admiralty, I have not a doubt but that that department will take effectual means as well to defeat the great object of the enemy as to throw difficulties in the way of the correspondence.

I am ever, with the sincerest regard, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, January 12, 1799.

My Lord—I have the Duke of Portland's directions to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a letter from Captain Lloyd, of the Termagant sloop of war, to Lord Duncan, enclosing copies of several letters which were seized by Captain Lloyd's directions, on board the Patrick and Fanny schooner, then lying in the Elbe, and bound to Dublin.

The secret intelligence which I have been in the habit of transmitting to your Lordship from Sir James Craufurd, by his Grace's directions, for these three or four months past, will probably enable you to discover the real names of those among the writers of these letters who may have assumed feigned ones upon this occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Termagant, Cuxhaven, November 25, 1798.

My Lord—I have the pleasure of acquainting your Lordship that I have discovered the vessel which was mentioned to

me by the British Minister. But, instead of a ship, a small Irish wherry, schooner-rigged, and, instead of the Morgan Rattler, I found her to be the Patrick and Fanny, bound to Dublin. The master, Doyle, no doubt, is a most arrant Rebel, as your Lordship will perceive, by the affectionate and friendly manner he is noticed by the Rebel writers of the letters: your Lordship will perceive the letters themselves contain little of consequence, but the discovery of the writers will be of great use to the Minister at Hamburg, and those whom they are addressed to, to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Two letters, my Lord, the one from Pat Corbet, and the other from Burgess, if they were made public, would, no doubt, have an excellent effect on the plebeians. Pardon me, my Lord, for the observation. I have taken possession of this vessel, and have the master and crew in confinement. The wind has been easterly for some days; but, from these circumstances, I have been obliged to remain here until I had settled everything with Sir James Craufurd. This morning I have received another despatch from Sir James Craufurd, who desired I would send a guard up to Hamburg to convey down two prisoners of State, of *great consequence*, for me to take to England; their names he does not mention. He likewise requires me, in his Majesty's name, (which there is no necessity for) to remain here for that service. I have, therefore, sent the first lieutenant and a proper guard to convey these traitors down to the Termagant. I must acquaint your Lordship that I have a convoy of sixteen sail; and, as the winter is now setting in very severely, and the port of Hamburg is already shut up by the ice, I think it my duty to acquaint the masters of the merchantmen that I am not to be considered their convoy, and am delivering out their instructions: they may sail, if they please, thereby to evade the Act of Parliament, and probably, in the end, save them from a winter's confinement in the small harbour of Cuxhaven, or many from being lost, which must be the case, if the winter is now seriously setting in, which it has every appearance to

do at present. Most of these vessels are in ballast. Great part of the Hart's convoy are arrived. Should she be here soon, I will send her with this convoy, and shall attend most particularly to the Minister's wishes relative to the Rebels now in Hamburg; and the moment those two are brought down, I shall use the utmost despatch in conveying them to Yarmouth. Thus have I acted several parts unknown to your Lordship; but, as it is for the welfare of his Majesty, I hope it will meet with your Lordship's approbation.

Since I wrote the above, I am informed by the master of a London trader, who is arrived from Glückstadt, that the Elbe is frozen up as far down as the town of Blackenhagen, six miles below Hamburg; consequently, the communication by water with that city is entirely shut up for the winter.

The Minerva, Captain Krampts, that I gave your Lordship an account of through the Minister, is not yet sailed; she has been ready six months; she is at Altona; consequently, cannot proceed this winter. She is a ship with a lion head, yellow sides, and copper bottom, and sails exceedingly fast. I sent to Altona for this information, 26th November.

Since the above, the wind is changed to the W.S.W., and the weather is become more mild. But it is the general opinion, my Lord, that Hamburg will continue frozen up for the winter.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DAVID LLOYD.

The Patrick and Fanny is about 30 tons, loaded with oil, honey, figs, lemons, vinegar, cream of tartar, and plums, consigned to various people in Dublin.

Captain D'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, to Mr. Huskisson.

Jersey, January 8, 1799.

Sir—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of Mr. Secretary Dundas, that orders, dated the 30th of

last December, have been received at the different ports, on the neighbouring coasts, to lay an embargo *on all the privateers as they return into port*, and their crews to be immediately escorted by the gendarmerie to Brest, where the rumour is again circulated that all the ships susceptible of armament are to be equipped and navigated to the Mediterranean. The frigate launched at Solidor in November last, and which was nearly ready for sea, has been also suddenly ordered to be dismantled, and her *rigging* and even *masts* commanded for Brest by land, about one hundred miles, which serves to prove the excessive penury of stores at the latter port. The communication by small smuggling vessels from the western part of the peninsula of Brittany is still maintained with Ireland, and there is a French agent at or near a place called Arklow, on the coast of Ireland, who communicates with Roscoff; the pretext is smuggling, but the real purpose is the transmission of a correspondence. I have the honour to be, &c.,

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

The Duke of York to Lord Camden.

Horse Guards, January 13, 1799.

My Lord—Your Lordship seemed anxious, when I had the pleasure to see you last Friday, to be acquainted with Lord Cornwallis's sentiments concerning Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, of the Royal Irish Dragoons. I have the pleasure to enclose to your Lordship an extract of a private letter from Captain Taylor to Colonel Brownrigg, received this morning, which, I trust, will be thoroughly satisfactory to your Lordship.

I am, my Lord, ever yours, FREDERICK.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Taylor, to Colonel Brownrigg.

Dublin, January 9, 1799.

I have so many points to write to you upon, that I hardly know which to begin with. The most important, however, is to answer yours of the 5th respecting the 5th Dragoons, which I lost no time in laying before Lord Cornwallis. He has di-

rected me to state that his motives for not at once recommending officially the reduction of the regiment arose principally from delicacy towards Lord Rossmore, who was Commander-in-Chief in Ireland before him, is now in the kingdom, and had, for a very considerable period, the regiment within a few miles of his own house. He is of opinion that this regiment ought to be reduced, and that the example is extremely desirable, in order to bring the officers of other regiments in this kingdom to a proper sense of their duty. He wishes, however, for the reasons I have stated, that the decision should originate in England, and has desired me to state to you, for his Royal Highness's private information, that he strongly recommends the measure, but, at the same time, he trusts that an arrangement will be made to prevent Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart suffering any disadvantage. His individual exertions have been as meritorious as possible, and strongly entitle him to the most marked consideration; and Lord Cornwallis will feel obliged to you to represent in the strongest terms to his Royal Highness his very great anxiety that his merit may not be suffered to pass unnoticed. His Excellency concludes that, in the event of a reduction of the regiment, the officers will be placed on half-pay, and what he wishes is that Stewart should be attached, as supernumerary Lieutenant-Colonel, to a regiment in England, in which one of the Lieutenant-Colonels may be absent from Staff employment, or otherwise, until he can be otherwise provided for.

Lord Cornwallis to the Earl of Ely.

Private. Dublin Castle, January 13, 1799.

My dear Lord—Lord Castlereagh has communicated to me your Lordship's letter of the 9th instant.

I lament exceedingly that the outline of the proposed arrangement between the two countries was not sufficiently digested previous to your departure so as to enable me to explain to your Lordship the general ideas of the King's Minis-

ters upon this most interesting and important subject. As it is proposed, before any specific plan is submitted to Parliament for its consideration, that the measure should be previously gone into by Commissioners, your Lordship will have ample time to consider it in all its parts, before it can be brought to a final decision. The King, by the advice of his Ministers, feels it his duty earnestly to recommend to his Parliament in both kingdoms, to direct their immediate attention to such measures as may appear to them best calculated to strengthen the connection, and to counteract the systematic attempts of our foreign and domestic enemies to separate them.

I am confident your Lordship's disposition to give effect at all times to his Majesty's anxious endeavours to promote the happiness and security of Ireland will determine you, without hesitation, decidedly to support the full and fair investigation of a measure of such magnitude, in order that it may be submitted, with every light that can be thrown on the subject by men of the most extensive information in both countries, to the mature deliberation of Parliament.

I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship that your opposition to a proceeding so reasonable in itself, and which his Majesty's Ministers consider as indispensable to the internal tranquillity of Ireland and to the security of the Empire, would be considered by the King's servants in both countries as an absolute separation on the part of your Lordship and your friends from all connexion with his Majesty's Government — an event which would be an equal subject of regret to me in my private and public situation.

I cannot conclude without most earnestly requesting your Lordship's presence as early as possible, and trust you will feel the indispensable necessity of losing no time in apprizing your friends of your wishes and support of the King's Government.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Clanricarde to Lord Castlereagh.

London, January 14, 1799.

I feel with your Lordship the great importance of the measure about to be submitted to the consideration of the Parliament of Ireland, and those feelings impress me with a due sense of the deliberation necessary, before any opinion should be formed on a subject of such moment and delicacy. On ordinary political occurrences, party-connections or motives of self-interest may influence the decisions of individuals. On an occasion like the approaching one, the general good and public advantage ought alone to influence. But, if allowances are to be made for the bias which naturally arises from political attachments, or from the wish to express a sense of gratitude to Government for favours conferred on some people, it is most certain that no such considerations can attach to me. In every situation into which I have fallen, it has been both my endeavour and my good fortune to acquit myself to the satisfaction of those whom I served under and with. There is no person, either individually or professionally, who has fewer favours to boast of or to acknowledge than myself; and it is not unknown to your Lordship that occasions have occurred, however trivial they may have appeared to others, which have afforded me ground for complaint of disrespectful treatment. Though I profess myself to be as susceptible as any man, there are occasions on which personal resentments ought to yield; and, without meaning to pledge myself in any shape with regard to my political conduct, I freely avow that the measure of a Union is of that description.

I think it is but candid to acquaint your Lordship that, having heard some County meetings had been convened to bring the measure under discussion, I authorized my friends in Connaught to say that my opinion went against such proceedings, until the intentions of Government, with respect to

the conditions of the projected Union, were better known and understood.

Before the end of the month, I hope to be in Dublin.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CLANRICARDE.

Right Hon. Thomas Conolly, to Lord Castlereagh.

Castletown, January 15, 1799.

My dear Lord—I continue still very ill with this cursed influenza, and my exertions in riding after the banditti have rather thrown me back; but give my love to Lord Cornwallis, and let him be assured that if I am able even to speak ten sentences, I will do it on Tuesday next, as nothing ever was, or is, so near my heart as the consolidation of the strength of both islands into one Legislative Union. If this can be done, in spite of the private interest of one set of men and the nonsensical noisy clamour of the other, I shall die content.

I will call on Lord Cornwallis at the Park either to-morrow or on Thursday morning, if I am able to tell him what I now tell you, being

Your affectionate Uncle and Friend, T. C.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, January 15, 1799.

My Lord—In pursuance of your Excellency's wishes, I lost no time in laying before his Majesty's confidential servants the draft you sent me of your intended speech at the opening of the Session, and I have the honour of returning it to you enclosed, with such alterations as, upon the best consideration of it, we are induced to recommend to you. Your Excellency will observe that, with the exception of one or two suggestions at most; the alterations submitted to you are principally confined to the style or manner in which some of the sentiments are originally expressed, and to the omission of one sentence

and the transposition of another, and I have therefore avoided specifying them in the form of marginal notes, conceiving that your Excellency would best judge of their bearing and general effect by their being inserted in the places in which they are intended to stand, and being presented to you in the usual form of a Speech. The only material alteration occurs in the first paragraph respecting foreign affairs. There are now, as your Excellency will recollect, nine mails due from the Continent, and no other intelligence from thence but what is received by means of the French papers; and, though the accounts they contain are probably exaggerated, we could not feel ourselves justified in encouraging expectations, which you certainly had a right to hold out when your Speech was first drawn. It was therefore thought advisable to give another turn to that sentence, and rather to state the effects which the successes of his Majesty's arms are entitled to operate upon other Powers than to anticipate the advantages their exertions may produce.

With respect to the paragraph which is omitted, it appeared to us that it was liable to constructions so very different from the intentions with which we knew it to be dictated, and capable of producing such unpleasant sensations and uneasiness in the minds of some of the best friends of Government, that it would be likely moreover to be used as a pretence for discussions little suited to the gravity and temper becoming the great subject of their deliberations, that we did not hesitate to strike it out of the Speech, and are persuaded that your candour will incline you to admit the caution and discretion by which we have been governed in this respect.

The transposition of the paragraph which points directly at the Union, as well as the other alterations, will, I think, explain themselves, and consequently make it unnecessary for me to add anything more on this subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Arlington Street, January 15, 1799.

Dear Castlereagh—I received your letter late last night, and I should not be candid with you, if I did not say, with no little concern and pain, that it is the first line I have received from you since we parted. The anxiety I have felt upon the subject of Ireland, the anxiety I flattered myself you would feel upon the subject of my health, has made me perhaps consider your silence more deeply than I should otherwise have done. However, having thus unburdened what has lain upon my mind, I will be ready to admit, in your case, what I never have been in the habit of allowing, that business has prevented your writing to me.

Your letter and Lord Cornwallis's despatch of last night are rather discouraging. I thought so little encouragement had been held out to Lord Ely, that I desired to see him on Friday last. I found him biassed against the measure, but, as he said, open to conviction; and, upon my asking him how his friends would vote on the 22nd, if an amendment should be made to the Address, he told me they waited for instructions from hence.

I lost no time in acquainting Mr. Pitt with the state of Lord Ely's mind, and he came up to town on purpose to see him. I collected from Mr. Pitt that he gave Lord Ely to understand his objects would be attended to, and, at all events, I understood that his friends would not object to the discussion of the measure, and that therefore they will not join in any amendment to the Address. Lord Cornwallis will, I suppose, hear from the Duke of Portland on the subject.

Lord Downshire called upon me to-day, but I was not at home. I hear his conversation is hostile, and yet, when he understands that Ministers make a point of carrying the question, I doubt not he will support them.

I fear the minority will be very large, and I do not learn

that the reasonable middling ranks express a favourable opinion, which will make it difficult to carry the measure. John La Touche is decided in his opposition as to the time of bringing the measure forward, and says that all his family will vote on that idea.

Lord Cornwallis's letter respecting the 5th Dragoons arrived while I was confined; I therefore did not see it till Thursday last, when the Duke of Portland brought it to me with the King's remark upon it, which was very strong, but did not quite authorize the regiment's being broke. As Lord Cornwallis's public letter did not recommend that measure decidedly, and the King's note did not completely authorize it, I entreated the Duke of Portland to delay his official letter till the next day, but he wrote me word that he had sent a messenger to Windsor on account of my remark on his Majesty's note; and, as the King had positively in explanation said the regiment must be broke, he could not withhold that communication from Ireland.

I went to the Duke of York the next day, and nothing could be more kind, and, as it should seem, more sincere, than his expressions with respect to Charles; but he said, as an example, he thought it necessary to advise the breaking of the regiment. He said he would read me Captain Taylor's letter to Colonel Brownrigg, which was also very flattering to Charles; but, in this private letter, the absolute breaking of the regiment is advised, although the public letter has not gone so far. Thus this matter stands. I fear it is impossible to prevent the regiment being broke: but allow me to ask, why is this regiment singled out; and why, after notorious disaffection or cowardice in the Longford and Kilkenny regiments, and above one hundred of them going over to the enemy, are they suffered to exist?—and why is such a step taken by the Lord-Lieutenant without some communication with his Secretary, when his brother is commanding officer?

I mean to advise Mr. Pitt to send over all those persons

who have offices, Lord Carhampton[1] among the rest. I hear Parnell has not kept his word as to the time of his arrival. That is of all others the *shabbiest method of acting*. Beresford left London yesterday. I think you must make it an absolute point with those over whom you have any influence, *not* to agree to any amendment on the Address, which will give you time, and Mr. Pitt's statement will get over to Ireland before the principal debate. I suppose Foster[2] will hardly remain a Commissioner, if the Speaker continues hostile.

In reading over what I have said at the beginning of my letter, I find I have expressed myself very strongly. You will, however, excuse it.

Believe me most affectionately yours,

CAMDEN.

You will observe the Speech is considerably altered.

Sir John Blackwood, Bart., to Lord Castlereagh.

January 15, 1798 [1799.]

My Lord—I received in a letter yesterday, from your office, of the 7th instant, an unusual summons to me, by the direction of the Lord-Lieutenant, to attend in Parliament on 22nd instant, on business of the greatest importance, which will be submitted to Parliament on that day, &c. I have been a member forty years; by many of the Lord-Lieutenants I have been honoured even with social intercourse; none, however, have presumed to call for my attendance on any Parliamentary subject. This is the first, without any previous knowledge of me, who has condescended to summon me in the style as to one of the vassals of Administration. The only authority I acknowledge is that of our Speaker, as directed by the call of our House.

I wish to inform the Lord-Lieutenant that I have the pride of feeling my own independence—*nullius addictus in verba jurare magistri*—a pride I would not barter for any honour,

[1] John Luttrell, third Earl.

[2] Colonel Foster, son of the Speaker.

station, place, or pension in his power to grant; and, while I can maintain my own opinion and judgment on all public questions, I will not part with the approbation of my own mind, nor permit the interposition of any Lord-Lieutenant without expressing my indignation at such treatment.

Your Lordship knows I had intended to have attended my duty; let it not be said I attend by the persuasion of his Excellency's summons. *Entre nous*, as to the momentous question, I shall not be finally determined till I shall have heard and digested the best information on the subject in the House. I am now consulting old as well as late constitutional authorities, as I never take assertions for historical truths.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

JOHN BLACKWOOD.

If you can foresee that the business of the Union may not come on the 5th of February, as your last information suggests, I will be obliged by the earliest intelligence, as my health will be benefitted by the delay, the length of the day and the warmth of the weather increasing. The filling up the vacancies will require more time than you mention, and it will be decent to have the fullest House possible.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. D. Latouche.

Private. Cleveland Square, January 16, 1799.

My dear Sir—I was directed by my Lord-Lieutenant, upon my leaving Ireland, to take the earliest opportunity of communicating with you on the important question of the Union. I regret very much that your absence from town may deprive me of an occasion of submitting to you the outline of the proposed arrangement, as intended to be submitted to the Irish Parliament on their meeting. His Excellency is truly anxious to be informed of your sentiments on the measure, well knowing the authority your opinion will carry with it: he relies with confidence that the liberal principles upon which the measure will be brought forward will meet with your approbation.

I shall return to Ireland the end of the week; should you by chance come to town during my stay, I shall esteem it a great favour to be honoured with an interview.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

The Duke of Leinster to Lord Castlereagh.

Carton, January 16, 1799.

My Lord—I am favoured with your Lordship's letter of the 15th, informing me that you were directed by the Lord-Lieutenant to acquaint me that business of the greatest importance will be submitted to Parliament on the first day of the session, and hoping that it may suit my convenience to be in Dublin previous to that time. I suppose this business of importance must be the question of the Union. It is with real concern that I should be obliged to take my seat in the House of Lords, to oppose any measure that comes from the Marquess of Cornwallis; as I think his humane conduct since arrival here merits the applause of every honest, independent man? I only dread the consequences if the measure is persevered in. Having made up my mind upon the subject, I am determined to give the question every opposition I can; therefore, do not see any necessity for my attendance till the measure is laid before Parliament. I remain, &c.,

LEINSTER.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Inchiquin to Lord Cornwallis.

Bath, January 16, 1799.

I have but one opinion or wish on the subject of your Excellency's letter, and that has been for many years the same, from my thorough knowledge of the fixed spirit and disposition of the lower Papists of Ireland, that nothing but a Union can keep that bigoted spirit within bounds, independent of the great and general benefit it will be to this

kingdom, not only in commercial advantage, but to their morals and civilization, by the spreading of manufactures and trades through the south and south-west of the kingdom, at present little removed from original barbarism. If Government do not carry the measure now into effect, their power and influence will be for ever lost in Ireland.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Downing Street, January 17, 1799.

My dear Lord—I received this morning your letter, enclosing a paper respecting the contribution of Ireland to the general expense, the suggestions of which I think entitled to great attention, particularly that (which is a very material addition to the ideas before stated) relating to the gradual equalization of taxes, and consequent abolition of all distinction in matters of revenue. I will lose no time in having an account drawn out of the produce and rates of duty on every material article here, and will be much obliged to you if you will let the same be done in Ireland, that some judgment may be formed how soon such an equalization might be effected.'

Lord Ely, with whom I had a second conversation yesterday, was to set out for Ireland this morning. He professes to go *quite unprejudiced*, but is apparently very well disposed; and, I rather hope, has made up his mind to support.

I had a very long conversation with Lord Downshire,[1] who is full of alarm from the consequence of pressing the measure. I urged to him every degree of argument and persuasion that I thought most likely to weigh with him, but I cannot be sure that I succeeded in anything but convincing him that, in all events, the Union will be persisted in. I endeavoured in vain to obtain a positive assurance from him that he would go himself immediately, or write to his friends to support, but could not bring him to a point, and he left me, apparently undecided and embarrassed.

[1] Arthur, second Marquess.

Lord Conyngham[1] has just been with me to say that, expecting Lady Conyngham to be confined every day, he cannot go over to the meeting, but will be there by the beginning of February. In the mean time, his language is perfectly friendly; but he expresses a strong wish to know whether he is likely to be elected one of the twenty-eight Peers for Ireland.[2]

The Duke of Portland sends to the Lord-Lieutenant a suggestion with respect to the mode of proceeding, on which we shall be anxious to receive an early answer, as we shall be guided by it in fixing the time of considering the King's Message. In the mean while, we shall on Tuesday only move an Address of form, and probably name that day se'nnight, in the first instance, meaning to put it off longer, if, on hearing from you, it should become necessary.

Believe me, my dear Lord, yours very sincerely,

W. PITT.

I omitted to mention that Lord Altamont[3] has been with me, with very strong assurances of support. I do not trouble Lord Cornwallis with a separate letter, as he must have enough upon his hands.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, January 17, 1799.

My Lord—The anxiety with which Lord Castlereagh represented the advantages which would be likely to result from the general plan of the Union being opened on the part of this kingdom, previous to its being discussed in that of Ireland, has engaged his Majesty's servants to consider the means by which that wish could be fulfilled; and I incline to hope that the Papers No. 1 and 2, which I send your Excellency enclosed, will appear to you to remove the difficulties which, according to the mode of proceeding laid down in my despatch of

[1] Henry, second Baron; created Viscount 1789, and Earl 1797.

[2] His Lordship became one of the Representative Peers.

[3] John Denis, third Earl. He was created Marquess of Sligo.

———, which was carried over by Lord Castlereagh, would have nearly rendered his wish unattainable, and have made it almost impracticable, in so early a stage of the business, to have entered at large into a detail of its extent and effects.

Great stress having been laid upon the facilities and benefits which would arise out of the appointment of Commissioners, it becomes necessary, on making an arrangement, upon the plan wished for by Lord Castlereagh, to form it in such a manner as should unite those two objects, and, if I do not much deceive myself, the plan which I have now to transmit to your Excellency will be found to comprehend them both. With this view, you will observe, that, although the appointment of the Commissioners is not, as was originally intended, the first step to be taken after the Address, it is only deferred until the principles upon which the measure is to be entered into have been discussed and agreed upon, which I think must be considered to be the fairest and most ingenuous method that can be adopted, and is certainly most conformable to the common practice which obtains in all analagous transactions, whether of a public or of a private nature. It is hoped, besides, that, by laying down as preliminaries certain general principles, by which the consultations are to be governed, and which would be looked upon by the Commissioners in the light of general instructions, much time may be saved; and, the foundations and outline of the great work having been thus mutually agreed upon, the very first meeting of the Commissioners may be employed in settling and marking out the detail of those particulars which are necessary to complete the several members of this great arrangement.

The Memorandum which your Excellency receives enclosed makes it unnecessary for me to enter into further reasonings in justification or support of this deviation from the original plan; but, lest objections should be made to it upon the ground of the delay which may be occasioned by the dissimilarity in the mode of proceeding in the two Parliaments, I wish to observe

that it is impossible that that difference can affect the progress of the measure in any degree whatever to its prejudice. It is admitted, on all hands, that decency requires that a fortnight at least should intervene between the Address on your Excellency's speech and the first discussion upon the subject of Union. In this Parliament, no such interval is requisite; and in a week's time or less, should it be desirable, the consideration of the King's Message may be gone into, and the Resolutions, if agreed to, may be officially communicated to your Excellency by the earliest time which it seems to be in your contemplation to appoint for resuming the question; but the facts and arguments respecting this part of the measure are so fully and clearly stated in the Paper No. 1, that I forbear saying any more upon it. But, notwithstanding the preference it must appear that we feel for proceeding in the manner above proposed, not only from the probability it affords of expediting the conclusion of this great work, but from its embracing the two objects your Excellency has most at heart, your Excellency will understand that our fixed determination respecting it will be suspended until an answer can be received from you to this despatch. It is now impossible that it should reach us in time for fixing the day for the consideration of his Majesty's Message, which it is proposed should be the 29th instant. Notwithstanding the facility which the good sense and good humour of the people of this country afford to secure the accomplishment of the measure, we must look to your Excellency's local knowledge and experience for the means which will be most likely to convince the Irish of the advantages which we are desirous of conferring upon them; and you may be fully assured that no step whatever will be taken in any stage or part of the transaction until your opinion has been received of its probable effect. But, if you shall not have signified to me, on or before the 29th, your consent to the mode of proceeding now proposed, and in terms that admit of no doubt of your opinion in its favour, it will, as the case may happen, either not be offered

at that time, or be totally withdrawn, and the mode contained in the detailed plan of instructions communicated to your Excellency by Lord Castlereagh will be resorted and adhered to, unless your Excellency should suggest any better means of bringing the business forward than has hitherto occurred. But I cannot too strongly impress upon your Excellency's mind the determination of his Majesty's Ministers to propose this measure without delay to the Parliament of the two kingdoms, and to support it with all the weight and energy of Government. I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Mr. J. D. Grady to Lord Glentworth.

York Street, January 17, 1799.

My dear Lord—Upon the formation of our political connexion, which, strong as it is, cannot exceed my personal attachment to you, I expressed my determination, in concert with your Lordship, to support the administration in Ireland. Under this impression, I have uniformly acted; and, if the minister of this country had found himself embarrassed by a profligate and desperate faction, either in or out of Parliament, I am persuaded your Lordship feels that I would not have been an idle or inactive adherent. Hitherto, the measures of his administration have afforded little opportunity of manifesting the zeal and decision with which, in a more difficult conjuncture, I would have asserted these our mutual principles, as the opposition to them in the present Parliament has been languid and unpopular. The present measure, however, bears a different complexion, and will be encountered by an opposition formidable from talents and popularity.

Without discussing the question, which the limits of a letter will not allow, and which was not perhaps foreseen by the most experienced in politics at the time of my connexion with your Lordship, I think it but right to state to you how pregnant of injury the measure is to me. Should I omit doing so,

I feel you might hereafter reproach me for not stating my situation and the loss I had sustained in my expectations and profession; when, under a change of men and measures, (however it might be your wish) it would be equally impossible for you or me to remedy the evil. Were I to address myself to a stranger, it might be matter of delicacy to state how I am circumstanced with respect to my profession; but in truth your Lordship may know, and the judges of the land know it, that the emoluments I reap from my profession produce and have produced me such an income as has enabled me to purchase a moderate and respectable independence; of a great portion of that I am likely to be deprived when my unequivocal support of the present measure shall be known, from the spirit of party which obtains, and the declarations avowed on the part of the agents to exclude from the emoluments of the profession such barristers as shall take an active part in favour of the question.

This may perhaps account to you for the conduct of a gentleman of my name, who, however connected with a personage in the highest situation in this country, fails not to blow cold on the measure, in the apprehension of being the object of an attorney's interdict. Let me add, also, that I suffer much in my expectations, because, if I pursue my profession, I must remain in this country; and it is idle to say that an individual here, however industrious or intelligent as a barrister, unknown to the British minister in the Imperial Parliament, can expect that situation of which, as a member of the Irish Parliament, time, zeal, and fitness for judicial situation acquired at least through practice, might induce a reasonable hope. To ambition, connected else with emolument, this is a serious impediment; it would indeed, in some respect, be removed if the city which I have the honour to represent were to be represented by two members in the Imperial Parliament; and, as I derive much professional emolument from my connexion in that city, I may even suffer in that respect

from the charge which may be preferred that, in the part I had taken, I had not even made an effort to establish for that ancient, loyal, populous, and wealthy city that proportion of representation which, from these its known characteristics, it had a right to expect.

The sacrifice of ambition, emolument, and professional consequence, naturally weighed upon my mind, and the result of the consideration was that I would even romantically adhere to more perhaps than the spirit of my engagement; yet could I not avoid reflecting that others were involved in the consequences of this my determination, and upon this account I wished you to consider whether I had not a strong claim in the consideration of the minister for the part which, upon this question and on its support, I shall take. Your reply was that the faith of the British and Irish minister should be pledged to the supporters of the present measure, and, in my instance, to me. Satisfied that I was not to be neglected upon the occasion, and knowing that others had not concealed how circumspect they had been in making—what I despise—a dirty bargain, I this day wished your Lordship to state to the minister my entire reliance upon whatever he asserts on behalf of the British and Irish administration respecting the supporters of the present measure, without one word in writing to that effect; but, as it was suggested, and not by me, that such engagement, in the name of the administration of both countries, would prevent all misunderstanding on the subject, I of course could have no objection.

I have written to you, my dear Lord, thus in detail, in order fully to apprize you of the nature of my situation, assuring you that I think I shall be a greater sufferer personally and politically by the success of the measure than what is called very high situation in the law-line, to say, Counsel to the Commissioners, or Chairman of Kilmainham, could at all afford adequate compensation for. You will see the necessity of this detail when you know how easy it is to provide for

lawyers who, although in Parliament, have little business, and, of course, can accept of small situations in their profession.

Yours most sincerely, &c.,

J. D. GRADY.

The Rev. Nathaniel Alexander[1] *to Alexander Knox, Esq.*

Armagh, January 17, 1799.

My dear Sir—As Henry is not in Dublin, I write you a few lines respecting this neighbourhood, that may be satisfactory to Lord Castlereagh on the subject of the proposed Union. After a great deal of canvassing, it was determined to convene the County of Armagh; and the strongest applications were made to various magistrates, gentlemen of property, to sign a Notice (I understand, from good authority, that Mr. M'Geogh, Mr. Johnston, Mr. More, and others who usually acted with Lord Charlemont, refused); and a paper was yesterday posted up in our coffee-room, addressed to the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Armagh, stating that a meeting would be held on Tuesday, the 22nd, in the Court House of this City, where their attendance was requested to consider the present intention of uniting this Kingdom to Great Britain, signed Caulfeild, Capel Molyneux, Brownlow, Richardson, and Jones. Last night it was taken down. Lord Caulfeild sent to the bookseller, with whom I was, for all the Notices he had printed, and to stop his proceeding further in the order, which was for two thousand; the bookseller had given but few about, but he considered himself obliged to go round and collect them again, which he did. Lord Caulfeild set out, I hear, this day, on his road to Dublin.

I had hinted to a friend of Lord Caulfeild's that, if there was a meeting, I should think it fair to propose an adjournment until after the King's speech, that the people should have time to consider what was to be proposed, and that, as he had convened the County to take the sense of it, I trusted he

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Down.

would be prepared to vote for the Union, if his constituents thought it was for their interest. I write this in a great hurry, as the post is going out, but I trust it will give you an idea of the business. Yours sincerely,

NATHANIEL ALEXANDER.

The Bishop of Limerick to Lord Castlereagh.

Limerick, January 20, 1799.

My dear Lord—I received the honour of a very polite letter from his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, expressing a wish that I should attend him in Dublin as soon as I conveniently could, as the very important measure of a Union with Great Britain would be brought forward in the two Parliaments of both kingdoms at the opening of the ensuing session, and I should have obeyed his Excellency's commands with alacrity, if real indisposition had not detained me: a complaint, not of a very dangerous nature indeed, but peculiarly afflicting to a traveller in a wheel carriage, confines me within the precincts of this city for this fortnight past, by a paroxysm of the gravel, now, I hope, almost at an end, as they do not usually continue much longer. I would, however, risk the pain I should suffer, if my temporary absence could be of any material inconvenience. But, in case of any close division on the question, your Lordship is in possession of my proxy, which I left at your disposal when I had the honour of seeing you last May, just before the commencement of the Rebellion.

Your Lordship knows that I am an Englishman and a Bishop of the Church of Ireland, and therefore you cannot doubt my wishes to support any measure that may best secure the ascendency of the Protestant religion in Ireland, and cement for ever the connexion of the two kingdoms; and I trust that you are now convinced, by my adherence to my post in the worst times of danger, that no *personal* considerations will induce me to take a lukewarm part in supporting my

principles and his Majesty's Government in this country. It is my intention to hasten to Dublin as soon as my health will permit.

I have not been idle in this district since this interesting measure has been the subject of general conversation, and do not find that the majority of this city are averse to it: they would be very inattentive to their own interests if they were.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

THOMAS LIMERICK.

I am told that my old friend Conolly means to support Government on this occasion!!

The Hon. Sylvester Douglas[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

January, 1799.

My dear Lord—It has occurred to me that a compilation I made last summer from the debates of the Irish Parliament, and those of the Roman Catholics of Dublin, of passages in anticipation of the measure of Union, and from De Foe's history, of similar passages or arguments in the Scotch debates in 1706, might save you some trouble. I therefore enclose a copy of it, which I mean for your use and sight *only*. You will find the Heads of Objection, to the amount of seven, collected in page 26. The coincidence of those in Ireland and Scotland is quite extraordinary; and I do not perceive that, in the numerous publications and debates now going forward, anything new is stated, or anything that is not, at most, a different modification of those seven points.

Your Lordship will find an important document in Lockhart's Memoirs, which is not in De Foe, being a general Protest against the Union, which the opposers had prepared,

[1] This gentleman, a native of Scotland, was bred to the bar, acquired considerable eminence in his profession, and was appointed King's counsel. He obtained a seat in Parliament, was nominated to various offices successively in England and Ireland, and resided for some time in the latter country in quality of Chief Secretary. In 1801, he was elevated to the peerage as Lord Glenbervie.

and the Duke of Hamilton had undertaken to present, but which never was presented, this breach of engagement being one of the singularities of his conduct in that business.

We have been a good deal struck here with the circumstances of a meeting of the County of Lowth being called by Mr. Maclintock, Serjeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons; and we are all, as you may well suppose, most anxious about what shall pass in Ireland during the next three weeks.

Will your Lordship do me the favour to desire Mr. Marshall to have the goodness to send me any account there may be in print or manuscript of the different rights of election in the different boroughs. I think, when the schemes for Parliamentary reform were in agitation, some such statement was printed—I dare say, inaccurate: however, it would answer my purpose, perhaps. I am, &c.,

S. DOUGLAS.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, January 21, 1799.

My Lord—As I shall not have it in my power probably to-morrow to write to your Grace, I am induced to trouble you by this night's mail with a few particulars of our situation.

I am not enabled to form a very accurate statement of numbers. There is a considerable body still undecided: we reckon from 160 to 170 with us, if they attend. Mr. Cooke thinks the Opposition can muster 100 certain, if they assemble. The Speaker is active and appears sanguine. Their party had yesterday a meeting at Lord Pery's. His Lordship's advice was not to fight or divide on the Address, but to wait for a more specific proposition. This opinion was not relished by the younger members, who were for starting from the post. I do not understand that they came to any determination, but conclude an amendment will be moved to the Address.

I am happy to inform your Grace that Mr. G. Knox[1] has

[1] Brother of Lord Northland.

relieved us from all embarrassment by resigning his office: he felt the awkwardness in which he was involving both Lord Abercorn and himself. The Prime Serjeant[1] has declined supporting the measure. Mr. Coote, the Commissioner, has taken his line decidedly with us, which balances Sir J. Parnell in the Queen's County. I am not without hopes that Mr. Wolfe may do the same, which will confine the removals at that Board to Colonel Foster and Mr. Knox. The Members for Antrim are strongly with us. Mr. M'Naghten, as a country gentleman, is an important individual: he gives me a favourable account of the North. The general disposition is favourable to the measure, particularly the linen trade. I hope the Speaker's boldness in his address to his constituents may not alter their impressions.

We have some thoughts of adjourning, after the addresses are disposed of, till towards the day on which the House is to be called over, and the proposition made. It cannot materially affect our business; indeed, till Mr. Corry is re-elected,[2] we are not in a situation to proceed with the supply. Keeping the Parliament open without business would expose us to collateral attacks. As it is intended to send commissioners to Ireland, the delay is immaterial. The address to his Majesty will be moved in the Commons by Lord Tyrone,[3] and seconded by Colonel Fitzgerald, member for the county of Cork; that to his Excellency by Mr. Jackson, member for Mayo, seconded by Mr. M'Naghten, member for Antrim. In the Lords, Lord Glandore[4] will move the address to the King, and, I believe, Lord Ormonde[5] to the Lord-Lieutenant. In the other

[1] James Fitzgerald, who was removed from his office for opposing the measure.

[2] The Right Hon. Isaac Corry had just been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the removal of Sir John Parnell.

[3] Henry de la Poer, eldest son of George, first Marquess of Waterford.

[4] John Crosbie, second Earl of Glandore.

[5] Walter, eighteenth Earl, created Marquess 1825.

House, the Speakers are allowed to move. Unless the Archbishop and Lord Carhampton[1] shall arrive in time, there seem no materials for debate.

The violent part the Orangemen have taken up seems to have made a considerable impression in some of our most Protestant supporters. Lord Shannon's opinion is materially changed, and I think the Chancellor is a little shaken.

Samuel Lyle, Esq., to Lord Castlereagh.

Coleraine, January 23, 1799.

My Lord—Since I had the honour of seeing you, I have had much conversation with many people in the Counties of Down, Antrim, Derry, and Fermanagh, on the subject of a Union with England, and I find that almost all the thinking people, or those whose opinion is worth notice, are in favour of it, provided the terms from England are liberal: the lower classes do not seem to mind it, and give little or no opinion on the subject.

Our linen manufacture is in the most flourishing state, which makes the wealth of this province, and ought to make us all happy.

I remain, with much respect, &c.,

SAMUEL LYLE.

The Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Bruton Street, January 23, 1799.

My dear Lord—In the uncertainty and anxiety one is under relative to what may have passed yesterday in your Parliament, but hoping that the wisdom and steadiness of Government have been successful, I enclose you a statement which I have great reason to believe authentic. I have heard it stated by several persons that, for the first 50 years after the Union, Scotland suffered. I know not upon what false data this assertion is made, but the enclosed account of the

[1] Henry Lawes Luttrell, second Earl.

progressive population is a strong refutation of it in regard to the two principal cities of that kingdom, and furnishes a considerable argument as to the effects of a Union upon Dublin. In addition to this, Adam Smith, who wrote near thirty years ago, and did not advance anything on slight inquiry, makes no such distinction (which seems absurd on the face of it), but considers the Union as having been from the first highly beneficial to Scotland.

The Excise and Customs of Scotland at the Union produced but £63,000, those of England near £2,500,000. In 1797, the Excise and Customs of Scotland amounted to £1,400,000; those of England only to 17 millions: whereas, in the old proportion, they should have been more than 50 millions. The gross Revenue of Scotland in 1797 was between £1,700,000 and £1,800,000.

I am, my dear Lord, &c.

S. DOUGLAS.

Progress of Population in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

EDINBURGH AND LEITH.

Years.	Inhabitants.
1678	30,498
1705	35,698
1722	40,887
1755	57,185
1775	70,430
1791	85,486
1798	92,673
Deduct the Number in 1705	35,698
Increase in 93 years since the Union	56,381

GLASGOW.

Years.	Inhabitants.
From 1656 to 1659	14,565
„ 1660 „ 1662	12,901
„ 1690 „ 1700	12,714
1755	31,840
1791	63,546
1798	69,706

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, January 25, 1799.

My Lord—I have the Duke of Portland's directions to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-

Lieutenant, a copy of an account received from Captain Dundas of the enemy's force in the Texel.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Dundas, of H.M.S. Juno, to Mr. Nepean.

January 16, 1799.

I learn that in the Texel there are nine sail of the line, but not fully manned, five Indiamen fitted for troops and stores, intended for Ireland, and five frigates fit to go to sea. At present, there are no troops near the Texel.

The Lord-Lieutenant to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, January 25, 1799.

My Lord—I have to state to your Grace that the party which on Tuesday supported the amendment to the address gained last night on the Report sufficient strength to expunge the original paragraph. The leaders of the Opposition were sanguine in their hopes of cementing the members who voted with them into a fixed Anti-Union opposition, and openly professed their expectation of overturning the present Administration. Sir John Parnell, who made strong declarations on his removal from office of his disinclination to engage in any factious opposition, was encouraged to enter warmly into the views of the party, and, in his speech, particularly recommended to the House the adoption of a general Resolution, pledging them conclusively against the principle of a Legislative Union. Lord Castlereagh, with a view of breaking up the party for general purposes, made an attack upon them, which, towards the close of the debate, appears to have made the country gentlemen the more eager to withdraw from their new associates. The question was strongly argued by the friends of Government, particularly by Mr. W. Smith (Baron Smith's son), whose speech, I understand, tended strongly to establish

the measure in the feelings of the House; though it could not be expected to alter the decision of the question.

Lord Castlereagh was strongly pressed to decline the agitation of the question during the present Session. He decidedly refused entering into any compromise, declaring that he should always keep himself free to propose it whenever the temper of Parliament and of the country appeared to him to render it expedient to do so, and professed that it was a measure Government never would lose sight of, convinced that cool reflection must recommend it to the House and to the country.

Your Grace will be informed, by my official despatch, of the fate of Mr. Ponsonby's attempt to commit the House. I consider the party as partially dissolved; but we must be prepared to find the Opposition considerably increased in strength.

The Speaker, the Ponsonbys, and Sir John Parnell, have all possible inclination to hostility: whether they will be able to assemble numbers with any effect on general topics of opposition I cannot yet pronounce. I am confident a considerable proportion of last night's opposition will return to Government.

Mr. J. C. Beresford this morning resigned his office, very liberally expressing his wish to relieve the Administration from all difficulties on his account, and desirous that the support which he intended to afford the Government on all other questions might not be attributed, in any degree, to his wish to retain his situation.

Considering the Speaker as decidedly hostile, I cannot look to the possibility of making Mr. Foster an exception to those principles which have been adopted towards other servants of the Crown who have opposed Government; but I do not think his dismissal presses so much in point of time as to induce me to proceed without waiting for a communication from your Grace, intimating the general sentiments of Ministers upon the system to be pursued.

Your Grace will recollect that I stated some time since the Catholics stand aloof, apparently with a view of inducing

Government to compromise with them, in order to gain popular strength in favour of the Union. Since the Opposition has assembled in force, I have reason to believe that a negotiation has been set on foot to connect them with the opposers of the measure. I shall endeavour to collect further information, and shall not fail to communicate the result to your Grace. It is said that a committee on the state of the nation will be prepared. There was every disposition in the leaders of Opposition to follow up their victory with addresses to restore the dismissed servants of the Crown. The Bar have entered into resolutions to give the Prime Sergeant precedence as at present. They met with the proper rebuke this morning from the chief Judges (particularly the Chancellor) in their respective courts. I propose that the Parliament should adjourn for ten days, to give time for the re-elections, and for the arrangement of business.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, January 25, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of intelligence which has been received from a person in London relative to the intended conveyance of a quantity of arms and ammunition, with about 250 Irish rebels from Brest to Ireland, to be landed near Youghall.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter, dated London, January 19, 1799.

A scheme is now going forward at Brest, to forward a large quantity of arms and ammunition with about 250 Irish rebels, to be landed near Youghall, under the direction of Thomas Harnett and Thomas Maurice, natives of that part of the country. I am in possession of the names of about 100 of the party, which, if thought proper, I shall give in to any

office your Lordship may order, and give every information in my power. Yesterday, I wrote to Earl Shannon with the information, as he is in that neighbourhood.

Lord Castlereagh to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

Private. Dublin Castle, January 25, 1799.

My Lord—I endeavoured to explain to your Grace in my last letter the causes to which I attributed our failure on the Address. The same operated last night, and induced the House of Commons to forget its duty by the Crown, in expunging from its Address all notice of the King's recommendation of taking into their consideration the best means of strengthening the connexion between the two countries, &c.

The impression of the second debate was more favourable than its issue. It was argued with effect by our friends that the disinclination of the House to adopt Mr. Ponsonby's Resolution is a tacit though not a recorded assent to the future agitation of the subject. The Opposition, exclusive of the Speaker, Sir J. Parnell, and the Ponsonbys, is composed of country gentlemen, who are alarmed at a measure so new to them, and which interferes with their election politics.

Were it possible, by adopting the principle of partial compensation, to give a greater proportionate weight to the counties, without provoking an increased resistance from the borough proprietors, the measure would meet with much less resistance, particularly with that class of men who carry most weight with them—the country gentlemen. Considering the temper of Parliament and of the country, I do not see the possibility of re-agitating the question this Session with any advantage; indeed, I have great doubts whether it should be tried again in the present Parliament, it being, as I had the honour of stating to your Grace, most unfortunately composed, unless the leading interests can be prevailed on to embark more heartily in its support. Although no deliberative proceeding

should be taken at present in either Parliament, it is for your Grace and the other Ministers to consider whether much benefit might not arise from a statement from authority, in either or both Parliaments, of the outline of the measure. The Resolutions might be laid on the table and printed, and not proceeded in.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

PS.—I understand that Lord Kenmare has seen the Lord-Lieutenant, and intimated to him that it was intended to bring on the Catholic Question. His Excellency will write further to your Grace on this subject to-morrow.

The Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Whitehall, January 26, 1799.

My Lord—I have not lost a moment in laying before the King your Excellency's despatches of the 23rd, which were brought me this morning by Captain Taylor, and in consulting the rest of his Majesty's confidential servants upon the points on which you are desirous of knowing our opinion.

Although the result of the Debate in the House of Commons on your Excellency's Speech from the throne makes it necessary for you to defer for the present the consideration of the measure of Union, and may possibly render it advisable not to resume it in the course of the present session; we are unanimously of opinion that nothing that has happened ought to occasion any alteration in the intentions we had formed, or any deviation from the plan which it was in our contemplation to pursue; and Mr. Pitt will accordingly open to the House of Commons, on Thursday next, the Resolutions of which I sent your Excellency a copy on the 17th inst., will resume them on the Tuesday or Thursday following, for the purpose of taking the sense of the House upon them, and, should it be as favourable as there is certainly every reason to expect, he

will bring them up in the course of a few days for the concurrence of the House of Lords, whose dispositions, I flatter myself, were too plainly manifested by the manner in which they received the King's message of the 22nd, not to entitle me to presume that they will feel, upon this important subject, an equal degree of liberality with the Commons and the rest of the nation, and that I shall receive his Majesty's commands to transmit the Resolutions to your Excellency, to be communicated to the Parliament of Ireland, at such time and in such manner as you shall judge most proper and expedient.

The union of the kingdom is a measure so evidently beneficial to the general interests of Ireland, that it is not possible seriously to suppose that the good sense of that country will not prevail, and ere long get the better of the opposition which it has now met with from the passions and prejudices of the day; and it is moreover so necessary to the strength, the security, and the tranquillity of the empire, that his Majesty will never suffer his servants to lose sight of it, nor will they, I trust, be ever so remiss or unmindful of their duty as to omit or neglect any means of attaining so salutary and important an object, and which, unless it be accomplished, will ever leave incomplete that final adjustment which was so much professed to be the view of the arrangement which took place between the two kingdoms in 1782. This would naturally lead me to observe upon the extraordinary assertions of the Speaker and others, who have affirmed that the proceedings at that time were to be considered as a final adjustment between the two kingdoms; but, though I cannot pass them entirely by without notice, I will satisfy myself with referring you to the journals (I believe) of either Parliament, but to those of the House of Commons of this country, from the 9th of April to the end of that Session, where you will find the most ample means of contradicting and putting down this assertion.

I therefore proceed to the only other point on which your Excellency expresses, and on which you instructed Captain

Taylor to urge, your desire of being immediately informed, of the sentiments of his Majesty's Ministers—I mean, the removal from office of those persons who have taken a part respecting the Union in opposition to Government. There can be no doubt of the measure to which our feelings would carry us, and that duplicity and treachery would not receive from us a greater degree of indulgence and forbearance than open and active hostility. But we are sensible that, in such a crisis as the present, other circumstances must be attended to, and that, though it may be necessary to make the Speaker himself and the country sensible that his rank and situation can not preserve their employments to such of his family and dependents as act in opposition to the measures of Government, it may not be advisable to use the same degree of severity to those who, though they may have shrunk from their duty and given way to the timid and speculative disposition of their minds, have not taken so decided a part as to force you to deem them irreclaimable and incapable of being restored to a proper sense of their duty.

As for the actors of an inferior order, I pass them over entirely, and have only to recommend it to you to rely upon your own judgment respecting the treatment of political offenders of every description. At this distance from the scene of action, the imperfect view and judgment which can be formed of the state of things very little enables me to prescribe the proportionate measure of firmness and moderation which the occasions may require. Your own discretion will certainly be your best guide, and I hope it is unnecessary to assure your Excellency that, whatever your decisions may be, you may depend upon their receiving the unreserved sanction and support of his Majesty's servants. Whatever may be the conduct your Excellency may pursue with respect to the delinquents, I am persuaded that every conciliatory measure will be pursued by you, and that nothing will be omitted on your part which can convince the misguided of their errors,

and that can reconcile them to a proper sense of their own interests, and of the real tendency of the measure you have in view.

Lest it should be possible that the success which may attend the attack to which you are exposed on the report of the Address may induce your Excellency to question whether the King's Government here may not be disposed to suspend the intended plan of their proceeding, and alter the language they have hitherto held respecting the Union, I think it right to apprise you that such an event was a contingency which had not escaped our consideration, and that I am authorized to assure you that, whatever may be the fate of the Address, our determination will remain unaltered and our exertions unabated; and that, though discretion and good policy may require that the measure should be suspended by you during this Session, I am to desire that you will take care that it shall be understood that it neither is nor ever will be abandoned, and that the support of it will be considered as a necessary and indispensable test of the attachment on the part of the Irish to their connexion with this country.

Your Excellency is now so fully possessed of the expectations and determinations of this Government with respect to the Union, that I have only to add that I am, with great truth and regard,

Yours, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

Arlington Street, January 26, 1799.

Dear Castlereagh—Captain Taylor has brought us accounts, which have certainly very much disappointed us.

It gives me great satisfaction, however, to learn that your exertions were great, and your individual conduct approved of by all the friends of Government in Ireland, as well as here. This information has not altered Mr. Pitt's determination to submit the intended Resolutions to the English Parliament,

and the Lord-Lieutenant will be informed that the measure will be persisted in by the English Government. I am yet to learn how you and others were deceived by the members on whom you depended. It appears by all the accounts I saw, that very few persons in actual office voted against you.

Ever most affectionately, yours,

CAMDEN.

Lord Camden to Lord Castlereagh.

[No date—Indorsed, 1799.]

Dear Castlereagh—I have received, and am much obliged to you for your two letters. I do assure you I told you no more than the truth when I informed you that your conduct had met with the approbation of the Ministers here, and that the disadvantages under which you laboured were felt and acknowledged to be very great.

Without being upon the spot, it is difficult to judge, but I confess I was sorry the thanks to the Speaker were voted as they were, because Mr. Pitt had heard from the highest authority that his conduct in the chair had been grossly partial.

I certainly advised you in one of my letters to endeavour to draw Parnell back to your counsels, but his conduct has made that measure almost impossible, and you know him enough to be aware that firmness is the only way of governing *him*.

I am much disappointed at Foster's most intemperate conduct, and I think, although he is now enjoying a momentary popularity, his character will suffer materially.

I am not singular in my opinion that a decisive tone should be taken with those who act as the Speaker has done, and in thinking that a defeat in point of numbers is less to be dreaded than an appearance of being afraid to attack a popular character.

Believe me ever most affectionately yours,

CAMDEN.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, January 28, 1799.

My Lord—I feel it my duty to call your Grace's attention and that of his Majesty's other confidential servants, as well to the measures which are hereafter to be pursued in the Government of this kingdom as to the state of parties, which is likely to arise out of the late discussion of the Union and the removals connected with it, trusting that the points which I shall have the honour of submitting will receive an early and full consideration, and that I shall receive, with as little delay as possible, directions for the government of my conduct on the several delicate questions which may be brought into public discussion, in the course of the present Session. The question of Union was brought forward upon the principle that two independent Legislatures had a tendency to separate; that the independent Legislatures of Ireland and England had shown that tendency; and that the effects of it were felt in divisions at home, and attempts of invasion from abroad.

Parliament refuses to listen to the question of Union; at the same time, wishes to continue and strengthen the connection. The opposers of the Union, with a view of consolidating, as far as possible, their party, and at the same time of diminishing the motives which exist for the adoption of the measure, will probably bring forward separately several of the points which are relied on by the friends of Union, in order to render either its adoption less necessary, or to embarrass Government by throwing upon them the onus of rejecting them.

The evils proposed to be cured by a Union are:—Religious divisions, the defective nature of the Imperial connection, and commercial inequalities. Additional motives in favour of the measure have arisen from an expectation that it would lead to a regulation in respect to Tithes, the most comprehensive cause of public discontent in Ireland, and an arrangement in favour of the Catholic and Dissenting Clergy. These ques-

tions may, and probably will be, brought forward upon an Anti-Union principle, and the resistance of them by Government must tend to divide the Parliament and the kingdom into Unionists and Anti-Unionists. In the establishment of this party-principle, the question of British and Irish authority will be strongly at issue. The religious question will probably be first taken up.

It is plain that, upon a mere principle of pursuing power, ambition, and revenge, it is the interest of the Catholics to obtain political equality without a Union; for, as the general democratic power of the State is increasing daily by the general wealth and prosperity, and as the Catholics form the greater part of the democracy, their power must proportionably increase whilst the kingdoms are separate, and the Irish oligarchy is stationary, or declining. The Catholics, therefore, if offered equality without a Union, will probably prefer it to equality with a Union; for, in the latter case, they must ever be content with inferiority; in the former, they would probably by degrees gain ascendency.

In addition to the usual supporters of Emancipation, many of the Anti-Union party will now take up the Catholic cause, the better to defeat the question of Union. They will thus expect to detach the Catholics from Government, and to engage the mob of the whole kingdom against the Union. Were the Catholic question to be now carried, the great argument for a Union would be lost, at least, as far as the Catholics are concerned: it seems therefore more important than ever for Government to resist its adoption, on the grounds that without a Union it must be destructive; with it, that it may be safe. I am of opinion that the measure hereafter to secure its success must be proposed on a more enlarged principle; but, if the immediate object of Government is to resist the Catholic claims rather than to renew the question of Union, I much doubt the policy of at present holding out to them any decided expectations: it might weaken us with the Protestants, and would not

strengthen us with the Catholics, whilst they look to carry their question unconnected with Union.

With a view to obviate some of the imperial embarrassments arising out of our present principle of connection, a Regency Bill, making the Regent of Great Britain *ipso facto* Regent of Ireland, will probably be proposed—they may also make a parade of offering to contribute proportionably to general expences; farther than this I do not think they can attempt to go; and I should beg your Grace's ideas on the best mode of meeting these propositions for partial and imperfect accommodation.

The Commercial question will be urged and stated not to be necessarily connected with Union—it cannot be pressed at present, however, with a very good grace, after the Parliament has refused even to deliberate on a question of Imperial safety.

Your Grace must be aware that the party will carry the feelings of the country more with them upon the question of Tithes than any other. They will press Government to bring it forward, and impute their refusing to do so to a determination to force the question of Union by withholding from the people advantages which might be extended to them equally by the Irish Legislature. They will also call upon Government to make provision for the Catholic and Presbyterian clergy, as they have been taught to expect it: how far this measure, which appears so necessary in itself, should be postponed and connected with the Union, it is for Ministers to decide.

I have endeavoured shortly to point your Grace's attention to the topics of which the Opposition will probably avail themselves, and your Grace will observe their tendency to consolidate an Anti-Union party, contending on principles common to, but short of, those maintained by the friends of the measure.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

January 28, 1799.

My Lord — Mr. Elliot, who sails, by Lord Cornwallis's desire, for England to-night, will explain to your Grace more in detail than it is possible for me to do in a letter, the circumstances, some unforeseen and others apprehended, which have occasioned a failure in the measure of Union. Begging to refer your Grace to him for particulars, the anxiety I feel that the King's immediate servants in this country should stand justified in your Grace's opinion, as having done their utmost to secure success, induces me to transmit to your Grace some papers which will serve to explain the extent to which we were deceived and abandoned by our friends; and I shall trouble your Grace with a few explanatory observations.

When I had the honour of seeing your Grace, I did not apprehend that the question would have been fought on the Address. I did imagine that, whatever repugnance the House might ultimately feel to the measure, they would not resist the discussion, and that all opposition would be postponed till a specific proposition on the subject was brought on by Government. The opponents of the measure, feeling it more advantageous to resist it by clamour than by argument in the several public meetings which took place, the principle of the incompetence of Parliament, and the justifiableness of resistance on the part of the people, was openly relied on. This warmth, added to the feelings of the country gentlemen for their country interests, sent them up to town much better prepared to talk treason than to listen to argument on the subject.

Although I had written to every individual member, requesting to communicate with him on the subject, previous to the meeting of Parliament, many only came to town on the day of the debate, which precluded my seeing them till I met them in the House. I the less apprehended any bad consequences from this, as I did not conceive that clamour would so

far prevail, as to induce them to refuse to entertain the question. The event, as your Grace has been already informed, happened otherwise; and the country gentlemen, as if they had been engaged in a fox-hunt, instead of a debate on a most momentous question, seemed to contend who should indulge most loudly in an outcry too frequently unconstitutional.

This was not the only untoward circumstance that attended us. The disinclination, or, at best, the lukewarm disposition shown by Lord Downshire and Lord Ely, threw a manifest damp on our party. This was strongly confirmed by Lord Ely's not voting himself in the House of Lords, in the early part of the evening. Instead of bringing forward eighteen members, as these noble lords might have done, but five appeared; and one of Lord Downshire's, my colleague, Mr. Savage, voted against us the second night. I could neither be prepared for nor guard against this misfortune by any previous communication, as Lord Downshire was absent, and Lord Ely did not land till the Lord-Lieutenant was at the House, delivering his speech.

The same neglect or inattention prevailed, on the part of other principal supporters, in bringing forward their members, as your Grace will observe by the lists. Some absolutely deceived us; others, from whom we had expectations, were deterred by the appearance of disturbance in the metropolis, and even by personal threats: but what seemed to operate most unfavourably, was the warmth of the country gentlemen, who spoke in great numbers and with much energy against the question.

I should despair of the success of the measure at any future period, so weighty is the opposition of the country gentlemen in our House, were I not convinced that their repugnance turns more upon points of personal interest than a fixed aversion to the principle of Union. Indeed, their violence subsided evidently in the progress of the second night's discussion. Whether a more acceptable distribution of the Representation

can be made before the measure is again agitated, will deserve the attention of ministers. I am aware of the strong objections which exist to the admission of more than one hundred members from Ireland: perhaps they are so weighty as to render the measure, under different arrangements, neither desirable nor admissible; but I see no plan which would disarm private interest, and put the question at issue upon its own merits, but that of leaving the counties as they now stand, with two representatives, giving the thirty-one open boroughs and the University one member each, which would be esteemed equivalent to the two they now return, and giving pecuniary compensation to the remaining eighty-six boroughs for whatever diminution of their value might be occasioned by the mode of classing them adopted. If two boroughs are united, the loss of value will be about one half, or £7000, calculating an Irish seat at £2000; if three boroughs are united, the compensation must be proportionably larger: in the former case, the gross expense would be £562,000, or, if funded at six per cent., £33,720 per annum, an annuity of £40,000 would pay the interest and sink the capital in a term of less than forty years. The gross number of representatives, were the above plan adopted, combining only two boroughs, and giving Dublin and Cork two members each, would be 141: if three boroughs are combined, the numbers would be reduced to 126.

I have ventured merely to throw out these general ideas for your Grace's consideration, not presuming to give any opinion on the subject, and feeling that, if there was any store either of foresight or liberality in our Parliament, the arrangement recommended by the King's ministers would have been perfectly satisfactory. So great an alteration in the present system of Great Britain was no inconsiderable risk to encounter in favour of this country, however important the measure may be to the Empire; and it is impossible not to trace its importance every day more strongly in the temper of the country. It is perhaps more reasonable that

Ireland should be left by experience to learn its true interests, than be tempted by arrangements on the part of England, beyond what either justice or liberality requires, to conform to what its own safety so imperiously demands.

Mr. Elliot will explain to your Grace how far he thinks the present temper of Parliament and of the country render a revival of the measure expedient in the present session. I think the agitation of the question has been advantageous, both within and without doors, to its future success. A detailed statement of the outlines of the measure submitted to the legislature of both countries, but not proceeded in this session, would probably tend to prepare the public mind for its more favourable reception hereafter.

However I may have failed, from inability, in the discharge of the important trust committed to me, I am confident your Grace will believe there has been no defect of zeal; and I venture to rely on your Grace's favourable interpretation of my conduct. I have, &c., C.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

London, Tuesday Evening, January 29, 1799.

My dear Lord—The conduct you have observed respecting the Union, in the two extraordinary debates you have had to sustain, has been so perfectly judicious and so exactly what could have been wished, that I should do the rest of the King's servants, as well as myself, great injustice, was I to defer our fullest assurances of the satisfaction it has given us, and of the important advantages we anticipate — I should say, with more propriety, which have been derived from the temper, the firmness, and the spirit you displayed on both these important and most trying occasions; for I must attribute to them the happy termination of the business on Thursday, and the defeat and total rout of Mr. George Ponsonby's motion, an event which, if improved, as I have no doubt it will be, I look to as being capable of affording greater facility and security to the com-

pletion of the Union than if the Address had been carried by no greater majority than we had latterly reason to expect. Without stopping to reconcile or to account for the apparent inconsistency and contradiction in the conduct of those gentlemen who voted against the concluding paragraph of the Address, and for the rejection of Mr. George Ponsonby's motion, I should submit to you that every advantage and use should be made of it to conciliate and reunite those who show any inclination to have it accepted as an apology for their two preceding votes, and who consider themselves open to discuss the question of Union. And I cannot but hope that the opinion which is said to have been expressed in the North, as well as the South and in some parts of the West, in favour of the Union, will be cultivated with every possible attention; and that, whenever (always understood that the attempt should not be made until it is warranted by a suitable temper in the country) a public declaration of that opinion can be manifested, it will not be neglected to be obtained. It seems as if the cry of Dublin had carried away many gentlemen whose interests in all respects must be benefitted by a Union; and I have seen with some surprise, as well as with real concern, a deference expressed for the opinion of constituents which I conceive to have been as unnecessary as it is certainly unconstitutional, and in cases where the representative might have taken the lead and taught his constituents the manner in which they were to consider the effects of this measure.

Your Lordship will have seen, by my despatch of last Saturday to the Lord-Lieutenant, what is the opinion of the King's servants here on the measure which you suggest at the conclusion of yours (private) of the 25th. Mr. Pitt is perhaps at this time stating in the House of Commons the great principles upon which it would be desirable for a Union of the two countries to be formed, (of which you are in possession by the copy of the resolutions which I some time since transmitted to the Lord-Lieutenant) which resolutions he will propose to

lay before his Majesty with a joint address of the two Houses, submitting it to his wisdom to communicate them to the government of Ireland at such time and in such manner as he shall judge fitting. They therefore may or may not be laid before the Irish Parliament, and discussed then or not in the course of this session, according to circumstances, of which you will be able to inform us. I find some persons already very sanguine in their expectations of a rapid and general change of the public sentiment respecting this measure; but, anxious as I am for it, for the reasons which I will not now repeat, I hope you will not allow us to prevail upon you to bring it in again until you are satisfied that the country is in a proper state of mind to adopt it: and, in preparing it for the reception of that measure, I desire that your Lordship will not, from any sentiment of delicacy, or other motive whatever, decline calling upon me, or any other of his Majesty's servants, for our co-operation and exertions of every sort, and in every way which it occurs to you may, by any possibility, contribute to facilitate its accomplishment, in which you may depend upon the most ready compliance, or with a statement at large of the reasons which induce us to withhold it.

I wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant yesterday (which was one of the reasons which prevented my finishing this letter, which, you will observe, was begun on Tuesday night) on the subject of his conversation with Lord Kenmare, in which I deprecated, in the strongest terms, any encouragement being given to the Catholics to hope for any alteration in their situation, as long as the Parliament of Ireland should continue in its present state. The more I consider that proposition, the more I am convinced that it never ought to be attempted, unless a Union takes place: that, in the present circumstances — I mean, the state of Ireland's present independence — it would be equally injurious to the orderly Catholics, who are now possessed of landed and personal property, and to the Protestants, and that it would once more deluge the country in blood, and that what

is called Catholic emancipation cannot be attempted with safety to the persons of either persuasion but through the medium of a Union and by the means of a United Parliament. Nor do I hesitate to add that, for the sake of the professors of both religions, I hope it will not be one of the first acts of that Parliament.

By letters which I have received from Ireland since I began this, great as the fatigue and severe as the trial has been which you underwent, you must allow me at least not to regret it, and very cordially to congratulate you upon the issue of it, and suffer me to join in the opinion and wishes of two of my correspondents, who think you fully entitled to, and who are confident that you must have acquired, by your conduct on those two days, that respect and confidence which will facilitate all the measures of your administration and your future course in life. I am, with great truth and regard,

Yours, &c., PORTLAND.

The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh.

January 31, 1799.

My Lord—I found a note on my table last night, informing me that the Roman Catholics have, by common consent, *postponed* their intention of coming forward in any way, and resolved not to embarrass Government *for the present.*

I should submit to your Lordship the expediency of sending for Lord Fingall and Lord Kenmare, and whomever else they would advise your Lordship to see, and to have some conversation with them. If I could further presume to offer my advice, it would be to make the following an article of the Union:—That all pains, penalties, and exclusions whatever that are now in force against the Roman Catholics of Ireland should be repealed (excepting the Lord-Lieutenant and principal Secretary), and that their admission to seats in the United Parliament should be left to be settled by that Parliament. I can see no possibility of danger to the Protestant establishment in either country from such a regulation under

the proposed system of Union, although I might fear the consequences of it under the old system.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. L. MEATH.[1]

Memorandum relative to opposition to the Union from personal interests. By Lord Castlereagh. Sent to the Duke of Portland February 1, 1799.

Exclusive of the difficulties naturally attendant on a measure so novel and so important as a Union, it is worth examining in what degree private interest has obviously opposed an obstacle to its success; with a view, as well of considering how far, by a variation of the arrangement, this mighty impediment may be removed, as of judging on more certain principles with what hopes of a more favourable event it may be revived on a future occasion.

I shall not take into the consideration the opposition given to the measure out of doors, in any other point of view than

[1] This distinguished prelate, Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, was of a Catholic family in the County of Longford, and was sent with his brother John to the College of St. Omer, to be educated for the priesthood. On arriving at an age for duly investigating the grounds of that religion, he found reasons for renouncing its creed, and adopting that of the Established Church, in which he took orders. At the commencement of the American war, he was chaplain in the fleet under Earl Howe, by whom he was introduced to the Duke of Portland; and he accompanied his Grace to Ireland as his private Secretary, in 1782. When Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, he took Dr. O'Beirne with him as his first chaplain. Not long afterwards he was promoted to the bishopric of Ossory, and, on the death of Dr. Maxwell, translated to the See of Meath. His letters and papers in this collection, relating to the Roman Catholics, proving his intimate acquaintance with the doctrines, spirit, and institutions of Romanism, are fraught with considerations, which, even at the present day, deserve the most serious attention of all who feel interested in the welfare of Ireland. A singular circumstance in the history of this prelate was that John O'Beirne, adhering to the religious tenets in which he was brought up, after the lapse of years, actually officiated as parish priest in the same diocese over which his brother Thomas presided as the Protestant bishop.

its affording the Members within a more plausible and popular pretence for acting upon their own private feelings. The persons naturally committed against a Union may be classed as follows:—

The Borough Proprietors—The Secondary Interests in Counties—The Primary Interests in Counties—The Barristers—The Purchasers into the present Parliament—Individuals connected with Dublin.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the various modes in which the measure goes to affect the classes above-mentioned. It is evident that borough property must suffer a diminution of value by the proposed arrangement. There being but one Member for each county intended, thirty-two individuals, whose weight now returns them to Parliament, must stand absolutely excluded.

The Primary Interests, though not threatened with exclusion, are exposed to new contests.

The Barristers in Parliament look to it as depriving them of their best means of advancement, and of their present business in the Courts, if they support it, the Attorneys having formed a combination for this purpose.

The Purchasers are averse to it, as being a surrender without advantage of the money paid for their present seats.

The Individuals connected with Dublin, right or wrong, consider a Union as tending to lower the value of their property.

Some estimate may be made of the amount of value thus supposed to operate against the measure. It is proposed to alternate 108 Boroughs: taking an Irish seat at £2000, and an English seat at £4000, the loss of value on an Irish Borough would be about one-half, or £7000 on each, making in the gross £750,000.

Estimating a County seat at an equal value, where the superior pride of the situation counterbalances its uncertainty, the loss on thirty-two seats extinguished amounts to £224,000.

The superior value of the other seat cannot, as in the

Boroughs, operate as a set-off, as it does not in the case of Counties belong to the same individual; it can only counterbalance, in a certain degree, to the person possessing the leading interests, the superior risk and expence to which he will be exposed.

It is difficult to estimate the Private Interests of the Barristers, but it must be pretty considerable; as they are about thirty in number, many of whom purchased their seats,—say £4000 each,—taking their seats and prospects of situation together, which gives a result of £200,000.

The purchasers into the present Parliament are very numerous; supposing only fifty, at £1500 each, seats being peculiarly cheap, gives £75,000.

The Dublin influence it is difficult to estimate; it arises out of property and houses, lands, canal shares, &c., which the owners very falsely conceive would suffer in Dublin—call it £200,000. The calculation will then stand thus:—

Boroughs.....	£756,000
Counties	224,000
Barristers	200,000
Purchasers	75,000
Dublin	200,000
	1,433,000

If the above statement approaches towards the truth, there is a most formidable principle of resistance existing in the nature of the arrangement, which, connected with the general strength of opposition, and supported by local clamour, it is difficult for the weight of administration or the merits of the measure itself to overcome. What measure of national advantage could prevail on the individuals of whom Parliament is composed to sacrifice a million and a half of their own private property for the public benefit! National calamity or popular authority might compel them to do so; but the danger must be more imminent, and their preservation be more obviously and immediately connected than it is, or else the popular authority must be very strong in favour of the measure,

before they will yield their private to their public feelings. Without presuming to recommend any alteration of the plan of representation decided on, it may be observed that, holding as it does a fair hand between the popular and borough influence, like all compromises, by its impartiality it pleases neither of the parties. If the obstacles above alluded to are so serious as to retard, if not defeat, this great measure, it is worth looking at the possibility of diminishing or removing some of them.

The borough objection may be removed at once by pecuniary compensation; the county impediment, by giving a second member. The other three classes cannot be reconciled by any change in the distribution of the representation.

If the principle of compensation is taken up, it can only be applied to the boroughs, which are strictly speaking property, of which there are eighty-six. The boroughs which have an open election do not admit of being so compensated, and therefore seem to require an equivalent in representation for what they now possess. Returning one Member to the United Parliament would be felt and admitted to be an equivalent, though it might lead in some towns, as in Limerick, where the influence is divided, to an inconvenient collision of interests. Of this description, including the University, there are thirty-two.

Allotting a second Member to counties would be more than an equivalent—it would be an absolute increase of value; it can only be looked to as disarming by far the most powerful opposition we have to contend against. It is a mere question of expediency; in strict justice, one Member is all they can demand.

The expence of compensation would depend on the mode in which the close boroughs are classed. If the boroughs alternate, or two are joined together, the amount in eighty-six boroughs, at £7000 each, would be £602,000; if three boroughs are united, the expence would be about £800,000. The amount might be discharged in Debentures bearing an interest of six per cent., which, with the usual sinking fund,

would charge the State, in the former case, with an annuity not exceeding £40,000; and in the latter about £50,000, for a definite period.

Should two Members be given to the counties, and only two boroughs connected, the numbers would stand thus:

32 Counties	64
32 Open Boroughs	32
86 Close Boroughs	43
Dublin and Cork, two Members	2
	141

Should three Boroughs be united, the numbers would stand thus:

32 Counties	64
32 Open Boroughs	32
86 Close Boroughs	29
Dublin and Cork	2
	127

Should it be thought expedient, with a view of diminishing the gross number of Representatives, to look to the Union of more than two boroughs, it may be worth considering whether a certain number of the close boroughs, at the option of the proprietors, might not be bought out altogether, so as not to make it necessary to unite more than two boroughs. Introducing a third, though connected with compensation in its due proportion, would leave an influence of an inconvenient description. The election by three boroughs would be awkward, and be considered by the proprietors as not worth retaining.

In addition to the difficulties above stated, as tending to obstruct the measure, it is to be observed that the County members, either concluding the popular feeling to be adverse to the question, or apprehending that a clamour might be raised against it, upon electioneering principles, were contending with each other which should profess the strongest opposition to it. This motive alone was sufficient to create in every County an active party against the measure, which has been unequally and with little effect opposed by the friends of the measure.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 2, 1799.

My dear Lord—Though Mr. Elliot will set off to-morrow with a full answer to all his written and verbal inquiries, yet it is so important that an explanation which was intended to have been given through him of a part of Mr. Pitt's speech should not be delayed beyond this post, that the Duke of Portland has desired me to write immediately to your Lordship on the subject.

In the tenth column of the *True Briton* of Friday, Mr. Pitt is made to say that the advantages given to the Irish linen trade by this country were the effect of a compact between the two countries; but what Mr. Pitt really said was, that the trade at present rested on the independent discretion and the liberality of the Parliament of Great Britain; whereas, were a union to take place, the trade would in the first place be secured by formal and irrevocable compact, and would besides, from the identity of interest between the two countries, have a security for its continuance worth a thousand compacts.

I remain, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, Sunday, February 3, 1799.

My Lord—I had yesterday the honour of laying before the King's confidential servants the despatch which Mr. Elliot delivered to me on Friday from your Excellency, and I hope, by the result I have to communicate to you of our deliberations, that you will receive all the information you can desire upon the several important and delicate questions you have proposed for our consideration. If, however, I shall not have been so fortunate as to express myself as intelligibly as I intended, I have the satisfaction of thinking that Mr. Elliot returns to you with this despatch, and that, from the conver-

sations he has had with Mr. Pitt and with me upon the different subjects, and from the comprehensive and distinctive powers he possesses, he will be able to explain any part of it which may appear obscure or confused, and illustrate any passages of it, on the construction of which your Excellency may entertain any doubt.

With respect, then, to the Union itself, the sentiments of the King's Government, which I conveyed to you in the despatch I had the honour of writing to your Excellency on the 26th ultimo, have been so powerfully expressed on that subject by the speech in which Mr. Pitt introduced the Resolutions, and the heads of the Address, with which it is proposed that they should be accompanied whenever they are laid before his Majesty, that it would be extremely difficult, and must be almost unnecessary, to add anything to them by way of illustration or explanation; but I cannot omit to observe that the whole of Lord Castlereagh's conduct throughout the course of the proceeding has been so judicious and correct, that it is the decided opinion of the King's Servants that the line he has hitherto observed cannot be too strictly adhered to, and that no pledge should be offered different from that which he has already given on the subject.

With respect to the Religious divisions which a Union might have tended to reconcile, if any attempt should be made by the Opposition to embarrass you upon that ground, either by bringing the whole of the Catholic question under Parliamentary discussion, or by moving for the repeal of any of the remaining penal laws against the Catholics, the opinion of the King's Government has been so distinctly conveyed to your Excellency by my despatch of the ——, that I know not how to enforce it further.

Your Excellency will not omit any means of opposing such attempt with success; and I should hope that it will not be found impossible to satisfy every reasonable Roman Catholic and every man of property of that persuasion, that such an

attempt could not be made in the present circumstances without the most imminent danger to their properties and persons; that, in the actual state of the country, the acquisition of the privileges which are withheld from them could not be considered as secure and permanent, and that a Union is as indispensably necessary for the purpose of affording them a reasonable probability of being admitted to a full participation of rights in common with the Protestants, as it is to remove and quiet those apprehensions which are at present entertained of them on account of the superiority of their numbers, and to render them no longer objects of terror or jealousy.

In answer to the inquiry Mr. Elliot is directed to make respecting the removal from office of persons who have taken a part against the measure of Union, I must beg leave to refer your Excellency to the despatch I wrote to you upon that subject, to which I will only add, by way of observation, that the strength of your Administration is the first object to be attended to, and again to endeavour to impress upon you that your Excellency cannot resort to so good and sure a guide as your own judgment.

The expectation which your Excellency expresses of the endeavours of the present Opposition to embarrass your Administration, by bringing forward motions respecting the connexion of the two countries and the state of the Dissenting Clergy, as well of the Protestant as of the Catholic persuasion, require that I should acquaint you that, with respect to a Regency Bill, it will meet with no objection from hence, provided it is formed upon the principles of the Annexation Act, and acknowledges, as with respect to the Crown, the same person for Regent of Ireland as shall be appointed Regent of this kingdom, and subject to all the provisions and conditions with which the Parliament of Great Britain shall think fit to qualify the appointment.

As for the Channel trade, or any fixed rate of contribution to the general expenses of the Empire, it must be observed

that these are matters which neither one nor the other Parliament is alone competent to settle; that they are proper subjects for discussion, and can be adjusted only by agreement between the two Parliaments. With respect to the first of these subjects, it must be obvious that it so materially depends upon the party who possesses the entire power of protecting it and the principal means of carrying it on, that any idea of its being regulated by the Parliament of Ireland, or even of that Legislature taking the lead on such a subject, can hardly be seriously entertained: and, as for the latter, it would be so direct a resignation on the part of the Irish Parliament of their power of controlling their own expenditure, that I cannot conceive that your Excellency can be under any great difficulty in silencing any attempt to bring either of these questions forward. Should, however, the Opposition propose to Parliament to raise a sum towards defraying the general expenses of the Empire, and to offer it as a pure free gift unconditionally, and without any stipulation with regard to the application of it, your Excellency may safely venture to assure them that it will be readily and thankfully accepted; but, at this moment, I cannot look with much confidence to any such effusion of gratitude or liberality from the Irish House of Commons.

The provisions which may be proposed for the Dissenting Clergy, as well of the Protestant as of the Roman Catholic persuasion, do not appear to me to require much more address, or to expose you to more difficulty or embarrassment in the treatment of them. We are of opinion that such a proposition, without adverting to the quarter from whence it may originate, or intimating a suspicion of the motives which may have suggested it, should meet with a favourable reception, and a general good disposition should be manifested to entertain and discuss it; but, at the same time, the promoters of it should be called upon to bring forward a specific plan of the measure in detail, for which I shall be much mistaken if they are not so little prepared that the business will be at a stand, and consequently

expose their real views, which I incline to think cannot but alienate both descriptions of Separatists from them, and convince those deluded people that it is to Government only that they can resort for indulgence as well as for protection.

A directly contrary conduct is that which it is thought necessary for your Excellency to hold with respect to the question of Tithes. Should your apprehensions be realized by its being attempted to be made a subject of Parliamentary discussion, your Excellency will resist the introduction of it with firmness and decision, and you will let it be understood that it never can be entertained, unless some plan respecting them should so far receive the sanction of the Legislature of this country as to be thought deserving of its serious consideration.

I have now, I believe, gone through all the topics which are either stated in your Excellency's letter of the 28th ult., or in the Memorandum committed to Mr. Elliot's care. I cannot, however, close this despatch without representing to your Excellency the clear and unanimous opinion of his Majesty's servants that the only effectual means to which you can resort to relieve you from the embarrassments which you apprehend will be the prorogation of Parliament. It appears to us the only measure which can give time for the ferment which has been raised to subside, and for the public mind to recover the degree of temper necessary to understand the advantages of a Union. The first and principal object, therefore, of your attention and study should be to arrange the business of the Session in such a manner as can best tend to that event. I am sensible that the change which you have been under the necessity of making in one of the important official departments of your Administration may unavoidably retard its attainment; but I have that opinion of the activity and diligence of your present Chancellor of the Exchequer, that I am persuaded the experience of his predecessor will be fully compensated by those qualities, and that the Session will probably not be protracted upon that account beyond the usual term of its duration; and as, from

what I have been given to understand of the nature of Parliamentary business in Ireland, there are very few cases in which private concerns can stand in need of or become the subject of Parliamentary interposition, I should hope that the principal business of your Session may be concluded before Easter, and that, in the meeting after the recess, there will be little more to be done than to receive and pass the Bills which have been transmitted hither, and which shall be returned to you with all possible despatch. Besides the influence which you must have with those friends who have uniformly supported your Government, I am persuaded that, by the means you will employ with those who abandoned you upon the Union question, and whose desertion can be imputed only to the prejudices and passions of the moment, or to ignorance or misapprehension of the terms on which it was to be proposed to them, you will be able to reunite them in such a manner as at least to defeat any of the attempts which have been supposed, or any other which may be made to protract the duration of this Session; and by this counteracting and disappointing the hopes of the gentlemen of the Opposition, the Nation will be enabled to appreciate their real strength and the real object of their designs—two points, which, if brought distinctly and obviously under the public eye, cannot fail to contribute to the tranquillity of your Government, and to facilitate ultimately the success of the Union. I have the honour, &c.,

PORTLAND.

February 4, 10 minutes past 4, P.M.

PS. As Mr. Elliot is of opinion that your Excellency will be anxious to be possessed of the sentiments of the King's confidential servants upon the subjects of this despatch, I have determined to send it to you by a messenger, instead of waiting to convey it by that gentleman: but Lord Castlereagh's letter of the 28th of January to Mr. Elliot, which he has only received this afternoon, contains matter of so much importance, that I have prevailed upon Mr. Elliot to defer his departure till it has

been submitted to the consideration of the Cabinet, which it will be to-morrow morning; and, in the mean time, I desire your Excellency will not consider any part of the instructions in this despatch conclusive which relate to the repeal of the restrictions to which the Roman Catholics are at present liable, or act upon them in any matter whatever, until you hear again from me upon the subject. P.

Lord Castlereagh to the Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas.

Dublin Castle, February 4, 1799.

My dear Sir—I owe you many acknowledgments for your kind attention to my wishes in allowing me to benefit by your very able and accurate materials on the question of Union. I wish the temper of our Parliament had given me a fairer opportunity of availing myself of the many valuable suggestions they contain, as well for the conducting of the treaty as the discussion of the subject.

We have failed for the present, and yet I am persuaded, setting aside the question of private interest, which is strong against us, a material progress has been made in establishing the measure. Considering the many classes of selfish politicians that were against us, our strength, notwithstanding the degree to which we were betrayed by some avowed friends and abandoned by others, was considerable, and our party sensibly brought up in tone on the second day. Though we lost the question by a few votes, I am persuaded firmness will carry the measure, and that within a reasonable time. The opposition is more of a private than a public nature, though the local clamour of Dublin gives it a popular aspect.

I shall keep your manuscript with great care till you send me your directions.

With great regard, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

I shall send you from time to time any publications on the subject worth reading; the enclosed is sensible, by a Mr. John-

son, brother to the counsel to the Revenue Board. You shall have Mr. Smith's speech as soon as it is printed; you will be pleased with his arguments.

Mr. W. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Burlington House, Monday, February 4, 1799. 6 P.M.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Owing to the desperate state of the roads, your letter of the 29th ult. did not reach me till to-day. Its contents are of so important and interesting a nature, that the Duke of Portland has sent a messenger to Mr. Pitt, who went to Holwood this morning, to beg he will return to town, and a Cabinet is summoned for to-morrow. As the Duke, under these circumstances, has pressed me to stay another night, I have begged him to send by a messenger the despatch which I was to have conveyed, and which contains the sentiments of the English Government relative to the most material of the points on which you wished for instructions.

I cannot describe to you the pleasure I feel at finding that all your exertions have been justly appreciated here, and that you stand as high as possible in the esteem and confidence both of the Ministers and of the public.

I had a sad journey hither, and fear I shall not have a better on my return. The Holyhead mail-coach, which ought to have arrived on Saturday, is not yet come. The Mail was brought by the guard on horseback. There has not been so heavy a fall of snow for several years past.

Believe me ever, &c., WILLIAM ELLIOT.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 5, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a letter from the Prince of Bouillon to Mr. Secretary Dundas, together with a paper en-

closed in it relative to the movements of the enemy at Brest, and an extract of a letter from France, dated the 28th ult., containing information on the same subject, and I am to desire that your Lordship will lay them before the Lord-Lieutenant for his Excellency's information.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Jersey, January 31, 1799.

Sir—I have the honour enclosed to transmit to your Excellency the information that reached me this morning from my correspondent at Brest; the late very bad weather has prevented my receiving it in more detached parts, as the coast has been inaccessible to my messenger for upwards of a fortnight: the man resident at the place was, however, instructed *to despatch me an express*, if anything had been pressing at that port. There are but few troops yet arrived in Britanny, but dispositions are certainly making for the reception of a considerable body; and if the Minister of the Marine, Bruix, is really, as it is suggested upon pretty good foundation, at Brest, to lead the expedition, your Excellency will, perhaps, recollect what Hoche said of him in his public despatches, after the failure of his Bantry Bay expedition: "A la mollesse du faux patriote (Villaret) on peut attribuer la faillite de l'éxpedition: plût à Dieu qu'élle eut été confiée au brave et intelligent Bruix! lui seul en eut assuré l'entier succès."

It was Bruix who brought them back in the frigate La Cocarde: he is acquainted in detail with the coast of Ireland. This same Bruix, by his observations, may, in the light way of his countrymen, have flattered himself to be able to second their insidious projects against that kingdom. I shall have him sedulously watched with all the care and attention in my power, and report very exactly to your Excellency all of his movements that can be observed.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Substance of communications of the movements at Brest, from the 30th of December, 1798, to the 25th of January, 1799, inclusive, received at Jersey, 31st of January, 1799.

Brest, December 30, 1798. Thirty vessels of different sizes arrived in the road, with ship timber and hemp from Bordeaux and Rochfort, escorted by three corvettes and two cutters, viz., corvettes of 18 to 20 guns each, La Colombe, L'Etonnante, La Société Populaire; cutters of 12 and 14 guns, Le Hargneuse, Le Renard.

About sixty sail of this convoy were forced by the bad weather to stop at Audierne 4th January, '99. The frigates Cornélie, Vengeance, Romain, Précieuse, Fraternité, continue ready for sea, and under orders. The three corvettes above have been ordered to proceed to Nantes, the Charente, and Garonne. The Précieuse sailed alone in the evening.

5th January, '99. The Précieuse frigate returned into the Road without having seen an enemy, with that part of the convoy (of the corvettes) that had stopped at Audierne. It is chiefly loaded with wines and brandy.

The three corvettes sailed to the southward with about sixty sail of small vessels for the different ports in their way along the coast. The ships in the Road are the same as reported the 10th of last month: they receive men daily that are conducted from the interior under escort. Orders for armament have been received, and every preparation is making to fit, if possible, 24 line-of-battle ships for sea. The small convoys this winter have brought a few stores, but they are still very scanty and short. It is whispered to-day at head-quarters, that the frigates La Cornélie and La Fraternité, whose fore-topsails are loose, are still intended to carry an *Ordonnateur* to the Isle of France; but this is thought a feint. Accounts were also mentioned of a new frigate and corvette coming from Nantes, having been driven and stranded on the coast by an English squadron.

19th to 24th January, inclusive. The greatest exertions to arm in the Road and the Port were begun the 19th at daylight in the morning. The line-of-battle ship the Jean Bart will haul to the Boom to-morrow, preparatory to going into the Road, and the two three-deck ships, Le Terrible and l'Invincible, will be ready to be warped to the Boom in a few days, and will soon be followed by the Tourville, the Jemappe, the Tirannicide, the Pluton, and the Censeur. The Mutine has been disarmed, and furnished her materials to the preceding ones. The Entreprenant and the Convention are ordered to be decked, as soon as the Eole and Patriote come out; these two last are ordered for armament.

23rd January, '99. The artificers have resumed their work upon the Indivisible, a ship of larger dimensions than was hitherto ever constructed in France. She is on the plan of Lané, and destined to carry 130 guns, and to be ready for launching at the next equinoctial spring-tide, as will a frigate that is constructing on the slip of La Montagne.

24th January, '99. All the ships in the Road have now about two-thirds of their crews on board: they are overhauling and fitting their rigging, and a division of transports are ordered to be got ready with despatch—report says, for India—but it is presumed it is for some project nearer home, as Admiral Bruix, the present Marine Minister, is designed to command the expedition.

Admiral Le Large, who commanded the fleet, is accused of having sold and betrayed the division sent to Ireland, and captured by Sir John Warren: in consequence of this treacherous conduct he is *destitué*, and Citizen Renaudin is appointed to the command of the fleet in his place, and has hoisted his flag on board L'Ocean.

1800 seamen are on their way to Brest by land from Havre, proceeding from the crews of four frigates and four corvettes, which the vigilance of the English squadron has so long blockaded, and proved the difficulty of getting them thence,

that it has been judged expedient for the service to disarm them and employ their crews in the Brest armament. The ships in the harbour have near half their crews on board, and most of them have one set of new cables, but no spare ones. Rope from all the seaports has been collected and conveyed by land to forward the armament, which, however, it is expected cannot be completely ready before the latter end of March. Ammunition and different stores arrive daily at Brest, but no troops are yet come, except three companies of Artillery, who arrived yesterday, and escorted hither money to pay the crews of the ships in the Road.

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Substance of the information received the 14th of February of the movements at Brest from the 1st to the 10th February, inclusive.

Brest, 1st February, 1799. Orders have been given to equip a strong protection for the convoys along the western coasts that have hitherto been almost always interrupted.

2nd February. Orders are received to send a division to Rochefort, where it is to be joined by the ships and frigates from L'Orient; number, or names, of these last not known.

3rd February. The division ordered for Rochefort received its orders this morning, and was put under the immediate command of Citizen Redon. It is composed of the following ships:—Le Montblanc, Le Wattigny, Le Zélé, of 74 guns each; La Cornélie, La Fraternité, La Vengeance, La Précieuse, frigates of 40 guns each; La Tactique, corvette. Their crews have been completed, and they have only the number of troops usually embarked for the garrison duty of the ships; each of the line-of-battle ships has 700 *matelots* on board, and they are completed to *four months* sea provisions. It is reported that they are destined to clear the coasts of Gascony from English cruizers, and then essay to reach a port in Spain.

4th February. The convoy that sailed in January for Bordeaux, escorted by the Etonnante and another corvette, are reported to have been taken, together with their escort, by an English division near Isle Dieu.

6th February. The only changes in the Road, since the last report of the 24th ult., are the junction of the Jean Bart and Tirannicide. The following seven are completely armed (though short of cables) in the harbour, and ready to haul out the first favourable weather:—Le Fougueux, Le Tourville, Le Jemappe, Le Censeur, L' Invincible, Le Terrible, Le Patriote.

The artificers continue working upon the Indivisible and the new frigate: they are always destined to be launched in March. Signal was made on board the Montblanc for Citizen Redon's division to weigh; they, however, staid fast, and the movement was apparently intended to cover the safe entrance into the Road of a convoy of 17 sail arrived from l' Orient, escorted by a fine frigate (La Créole) and two corvettes. The convoy is loaded with timber, wines, and brandies.

7th February. The Cisalpin and Berwick have received orders to prepare to reinforce the division of Citizen Redon. Citizen Redon's division, consisting *only of the original three* line-of-battle ships and four frigates, with the Berceau corvette, in lieu of the Tactique and the Vautour cutter, are riding at single anchor. It has made several efforts to sail, but always been prevented by the bad weather; but it will certainly proceed the first favourable moment. Other ships are getting ready daily, and extraordinary exertions are making to equip them with *as little éclat as possible;* as it is apprehended they are intended to be stolen out successively as they are armed, to rally at some other port, of which the egress may be more easy. The privateers, which are allowed to embark invalids only and novices, swarm from all the ports in Brittany, and send in very valuable prizes almost daily, and indifferently of all nations.

State of the Road of Brest the 10th instant. Seventeen line-of-battle ships, six large frigates, and six corvettes, with twenty-seven transports en flute.

D' AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Extract of a Letter from France.

Janvier 28, 1799.

J'attendois avec bien de l'impatience le rétour de nôtre ami, pour faire en sorte de le faire répartir sur-le-champ, afin de vous instruire des avis importants dont j'attendois les renseignements, ainsi que je vous l'avois annoncé dans ma dernière lettre.

Tous les petits bâtimens de guerre qu'on a rassemblé à Dunkerque n'étoient que pour les rétirer des autres ports, d'où on fait enlever tous les Marins et conduire à Brest, escortés par la force armée. On fait également enlever à tous les ports tous les agrès et autres ustensiles nécessaires à l'armement, qu'on fait transporter aussi à Brest. On a également enlevé tous les agrès des quatre frégates qui sont à Dunkerque, pour leur faire suivre la même destination, et tous le transport se fait par terre, de manière qu' aujourd'hui tout paroît se diriger vers ce port, où il y a environ dix gros vaisseaux armés ou prêts à l'être, ainsi que plusieurs frégates; et tout conspire à faire croire qu'il va y avoir une expédition pour l'Irlande. Un émissaire que j'avois envoyé dans ce port m'a dit qu'il y croyoit positivement, mais qu'auprès ce qu'il avoit pu découvrir, il croyoit que l'expédition ne s'executeroit qu' avec des frégates et quelques vaisseaux et autres petits bâtimens. Je n'ai pu rien découvrir sur l'époque. Il suffira sans doute de connoître les faits qui se succedent avec infiniment de rapidité.

TRANSLATION.

I awaited with great impatience the return of our friend, in order to contrive matters so as to send him off again immediately, for the purpose of acquainting you with the important intelligence, the particulars of which I was expecting, as I mentioned to you in my last letter.

All the small ships of war which have been assembled at Dunkirk were ordered thither merely to withdraw them from the other ports, where directions have been given to take all seamen and to send them off to Brest, escorted by the armed force. Orders have likewise been issued for taking away from all the ports all rigging and other materials necessary for equipment, which are also conveyed to Brest. The four frigates lying at Dunkirk have, in like manner, been stripped of all their rigging, which is to follow to the same destination, and all by land carriage; so that at this moment everything appears to be moving towards that port, where there are about ten large ships armed, or nearly so, as well as several frigates; and all circumstances concur to induce a belief that a new expedition will soon be despatched thence for Ireland. An emissary whom I sent to this port has told me that he positively believed this; but that, from what he could discover, he believed that the expedition would consist of frigates only with a few ships and other small vessels. I could not learn anything certain as to the same. It will doubtless suffice to be acquainted with these facts, which follow each other with extreme rapidity.

The Rev. Dr. Lennan to the Rev. Dr. Troy.

Newry, February 7, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that your friend Mr. Corry was this day re-elected for the town of Newry. Mr. Ball, with his partisans, after canvassing the town for eight days, declined the poll, and surrendered yesterday. The Catholics stuck together like the Macedonian phalanx, and with ease were able to turn the scale in favour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is very sensible of the efficacy of your interference, and their steadiness.

I am, with the greatest esteem and the most sincere affection,

MATT. LENNAN.

No person but Mr. Corry knows that you wrote to me. Have you any ecclesiastical news, &c.?

The Right Hon. Thomas Conolly[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Castletown, Friday, February 8, 1799.

My dear Lord—I should be sorry you should think of a morning's visit here in this weather, if you had anything else to mind. I am much better, nay, almost well, by staying at home over the fire; but it will not be in my power to attend the House on Monday, and I must, therefore, appear among the defaulters, if the House is called over. My physician, Dr. Lindsay, in Dublin, is willing to make oath that I cannot attend Parliament at this season of the year without evident hazard of my life. This risk I would most cheerfully run to carry the proposed union with Great Britain. In the mean time, among ourselves here, this monstrous coalition between the United and Orangemen in Parliament will keep us in hot water for a long time, as they will not let their differences sleep—the first from disappointment, the latter from their love of power and plunder, from both of which they are afraid of being kept out by Lord Cornwallis's conduct. Both sides, therefore, wish him and his friends at the devil.

I am your affectionate friend and uncle,

THOMAS CONOLLY.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, February 9, 1799.

My Lord—The kind and infinitely too flattering terms in which your Grace conveys your own sentiments and those of his Majesty's other confidential servants, approving of my conduct on a late occasion, are the best, indeed the only consolation I can receive for a disappointment, which, on public as well as private grounds, I sincerely deplore. Your Grace may

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Londonderry Militia. He married Lady Louisa Augusta Lennox, daughter of Charles, third Duke of Richmond, at whose decease his estates descended to his grand-nephew, E. M. Packenham, Esq., who assumed the name and arms of Conolly only.

rest assured that so long as I remain entrusted with the situation I now fill, my undivided attention shall be directed to prepare the public mind for the more favourable reception of this measure, as well as to strengthen its support within the House of Commons.

I cannot yet learn that the Opposition have determined on their line of conduct. Their object seems, in the first instance, to consolidate their party. Two motions were this day made by Mr. O'Donnell and Mr. Edgeworth, neither men of any consideration, evidently with this view.

The first was a complaint in respect to paragraphs in the Sun; the second a vote of thanks to the Speaker. The publications in the Sun could not be justified, nor could the thanks to the Chair be resisted, upon any other grounds (whatever partiality had been observable in the Speaker's conduct) than on the occasion not calling for this proceeding. As I conceived the real object of the motions was to induce the country gentlemen again to divide with them, and as the question, from the part they took in the opening of the Session, if resisted, would naturally have commanded their support, I thought it most advantageous to let them pass almost as of course, which I believe disappointed them. Mr. Pitt's speech was alluded to but so loosely and by an individual of so little might, as to call for no attention. I was the less inclined to notice the observation, as I understand it is the Speaker's intention to take an early opportunity of observing upon it. The effect that admirable performance must have cannot fail to be considerable even in this intemperate country. We are employed in giving it the utmost possible circulation.

The North continues, notwithstanding the Speaker's efforts, perfectly temperate on the subject. In Monaghan a protest has been signed by the majority of the resident gentry, dissenting from the County Resolutions. In Tyrone also I understand there is a protest; favourable dispositions have been shown in other places.

I have not heard farther of the proceedings of the Catholics since I wrote to Mr. Elliot on the subject. Whatever degree of latitude may be given to the Lord-Lieutenant in respect to connecting any of their objects with the Union, it appears to me, great caution should be used in holding out the expectation. Were it done with any appearance of eagerness on the part of Government, it would argue weakness, and bear too much the appearance of a bargain to serve the cause. I conceive the true policy is, by a steady resistance of their claims, so long as the countries remain separate, to make them feel that they can be carried only with us through a Union. The Speaker's temper will probably lead him to play a high Protestant game, which will operate favourably both with the Presbyterians and Catholics.

Your Grace must be prepared for more difficulties, at least for some time, growing out of a rupture with the Speaker. His influence in the Commons is great; his address and talents will direct the measures and supply the materials for opposition; the party, supported by Parnell, will be strong in debate. What success they may have in steadily attaching to them the country gentlemen it is difficult to foresee. So long as the measure of Union threatens private interests in the degree it is now felt to do, and it is understood to be still hanging over them, we must be prepared to find them connected in a considerable degree by this apprehension. We are not altogether without some doubts of other of our friends. I trust, however, matters will end well.

Allow me again to thank your Grace most sincerely for the favour you have shown.

The Rev. Dr. Troy to Sir J. C. Hippisly, Bart.

Dublin, February 9, 1799.

Dear Sir—I cannot sufficiently acknowledge your polite and friendly attention to me and to the interests of Irish Catholics,

of which your obliging favours of the 8th ultimo and 2d instant are clear proofs. Most of my brethren lately assembled here are gone home. As the measure of providing for our Clergy seems connected with the question of Union, which has been prematurely opposed in our Commons' House, the former must be postponed until the other be coolly considered in Parliament. Previous to the separation of my brethren, certain preliminary points were agreed upon and submitted by me to Lord Castlereagh, who expressed his approbation of them, and probably sent them to the Duke of Portland. They are not to be made public until the business be concluded. Meantime Dr. O'Reilly, of Armagh, and Plunkett, of Meath, in conjunction with me, are authorized by our brethren to treat with Lord Castlereagh on the subject, when he may think it expedient to resume it.

The very able speech of Mr. Pitt cannot fail to engage the opposers of Union with Great Britain to consider the question dispassionately, and determine many of them in its favour. The Catholics have prudently resolved to abstain from any resolution or declaration thereon, although many of them, especially in this city, are unfriendly to it. I did not attend at any of their late meetings, to consider of an address to the Lord-Lieutenant expressive of loyalty and their expectations of what is called *emancipation*. I think and have declared my opinion that such a step, in the present circumstances, would only embarrass Government, and rather indispose it against the Catholics. There are very many of this opinion. Whatever be the result of their next meeting on this point, I have good reason to expect they will not call on the Opposition Members of Parliament to move for emancipation, and hope I shall not be disappointed.

I beg, when you see Lord Hobart,[1] to present my compli-

[1] Robert, eldest son of George, third Earl of Buckinghamshire. He was summoned to Parliament in 1798, in the lifetime of his father, as Lord Hobart. Lady Castlereagh, it will be recollected, was his sister.

ments to his Lordship, and have the honour to remain with perfect esteem,

Yours, &c.,

J. T. TROY.

PS.—I have just received Counsellor Smith's *address* on the Union, which I take the liberty of sending to you. Mr. Coghlan will receive another copy by this packet. I have not yet read it, but hear it much praised. Dr. Moylan, now here, returns his compliments to you. Dr. Egan departed this life last June. The allusion in Mr. Pitt's speech to the Catholics of this kingdom does not please many. They say that they expected he would be silent about them, or give them better hopes. They seem inclined to prefer their claims in an address to his Majesty or to the Lord-Lieutenant, but do not intend, I believe, to interfere with the question of Union.

The Earl of Longford[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

February 12, 1799.

My dear Lord—I return the Protest which I had the honour of receiving yesterday, to which I have not put my name, because I am convinced that publishing at this time a Protest which had been entered into so long ago, which of course was supposed to have been dropped, would have strongly the appearance of intending to push a measure against which the public mind has for the present shown itself so violently prejudiced, which certainly, however unfounded the apprehension may be, will much increase the agitation now so unfortunately prevalent on the subject of Union. I have no difficulty in declaring that my opinion coincides with the sentiments expressed in the Protest; but, at present, I think the first object is to tranquillize, by allowing the ferment to subside; and I am persuaded that publishing the Protest would have the con-

[1] Thomas Pakenham, second Baron Longford, who succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his grandmother, in 1794.

trary effect, perhaps be the means of occasioning another County meeting, which might have bad consequences.

I have the honour, &c., LONGFORD.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, February 14, 1799.

My Lord—It is with much pain I am to acquaint your Lordship that the lenient measures adopted by the Legislature at the instance of his Majesty towards the close of the last session, have not been productive of those good effects in recalling the people to a sense of their allegiance which was due to, and might have been expected from, so merciful an interposition in their favour. The same spirit of disaffection continues to pervade the lower orders; and, though the rebellion is less openly persisted in, it does not fail to show itself in various outrages and depredations not less destructive and infinitely more embarrassing than open insurrection. The province of Ulster is, upon the whole, more exempt from disturbance than any other portion of the kingdom; but even in this quarter the disaffected are not inactive; and in the county of Antrim during the last month, the houses of several loyal persons have been by night entered and stripped of arms. In the other provinces, the treasonable disposition exists in its full force, and a general insecurity prevails: the mails and travellers are frequently intercepted and robbed, the roads being infested by banditti. The counties of Wicklow and Wexford remain disturbed. In the county of Cork the usual resistance to the payment of tithes continues, accompanied by the cruel persecution of those employed in collecting them; and in the West the old system of houghing cattle has been of late revived, and carried to an extent which threatens the most serious consequences not only to this kingdom but to the Empire.

The amount of the cattle destroyed is already very great. I cannot afford your Grace better information on this subject than by enclosing an extract from a letter from the Prime Serjeant

to Lord Castlereagh, on this subject. The evil pervades the Counties of Galway and Mayo, and is likely, if not speedily checked, to extend itself.[1]

I have made the necessary distribution of troops, to repress as far as possible this mischief; but your Grace must feel how little it is in the power of the military to prevent the commission of crimes perpetrated at night over the face of so extended a district.

In my despatch of the —, I had the honour of stating to your Grace the difficulties which had arisen in the exercise of the summary powers, enjoined by the Proclamation of the 24th of May, and approved by both Houses of Parliament—a difficulty which nothing but the interposition of the Legislature can solve, so long as the King's Courts are open.

Under the peculiar pressure of the present moment, I have, by the advice of the King's law servants, directed a bill to be brought into Parliament on this subject without loss of time, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit with this despatch. I could have wished that the draft of a bill of so much delicacy and importance had been revised in England before it was introduced here; but, having understood from your Grace that the principle of the Bill was approved by Ministers, I have thought it inexpedient to delay a measure so indispensable to the public safety, the rather as we shall be enabled to avail ourselves of any suggestions with which your Grace may favour me in the future stages of the measure.

I have the honour to be, &c., CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 15, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a letter received at the Admi-

[1] I am not aware that in any other country on the face of the earth besides Ireland has this savage and cowardly practice ever been known to exist.

ralty, from Captain Dacres, of his Majesty's ship Astrea, to Vice-Admiral Dickson, containing intelligence of the enemy's force in the Texel; and I am to desire that you will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant for his Excellency's information. I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Astrea, off Camperdown, February 6, 1799.

Sir—From the large quantity of drift ice we meet with, I think it unsafe for the Diligent cutter to remain out; have therefore ordered her in. I yesterday had a very good sight of the Dutch fleet, and am convinced, from their riding with the wind a-beam and strong ebb-tide, that they are froze in—indeed the frost is so severe, there can be no doubt of it—shall endeavour to keep to windward; but, if I find am not able, shall bear up either for Yarmouth or the Humber. I hope you have some account of the Tisiphone.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

R. DACRES.

PS. The Dutch fleet are fifteen large ships—yards and topmasts down.

To Vice-Admiral Dickson.

The Rev. John Blackwood to Lord Castlereagh.

Bliedy, February 16, 1799.

My Lord—Knowing well your great perseverance in public business, I trespass again upon your moments, so much engrossed in the guidance of the State. Seeing, by the votes, that a bill is to be brought into Parliament to amend the Insurrection Act, especially as it regards damages from lawless insurgents or robbers in numbers, I think it necessary to state to your Lordship, that, in the plunder and partial destruction of my glebe house at Rathcormick, the principal object of the banditti was to destroy my tithe-notes and processes *founded on them*, which I had been obliged to serve at three successive

sessions, on account of my proctor being induced, by threats or bribery, to abandon my business. That this was their object, appears from their having forced every place in my house where they suspected the papers were, and, when found, they burned all my papers, tithe-notes, books, and sermons, before my hall-door. It is also to be observed, that the cause of murdering the soldier in my house was, that they did not find the processes served by the man murdered, lest he should prove the service, and I find, notwithstanding the destruction of my notes and books, some other method of ascertaining the original debts, which would affirm the processes.

I further observe that no person but myself can prove the loss at all. I request an answer to this letter. Your Lordship will give the observations the attention they merit.

I am your most obedient servant,

JOHN BLACKWOOD.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 17, 1799.

My dear Lord—Immediately on the receipt of your Lordship's private letter of the 11th instant, on the subject of Dr. Elrington's[1] dispensation, I spoke to the Duke of Portland, who seemed much surprised that he should have been so much misunderstood by the Lord Chancellor. It is the Duke's decided opinion that dispensations of this kind ought not to be granted in any case; and his Grace says, that he was persuaded he had expressed himself to that effect to the Lord Chancellor, when he had the honour of seeing his Lordship in London; adding that, if it were found necessary or expedient, by his Majesty's Government in Ireland, to give to the Senior Fellows of Trinity College the power of marrying, whilst they retained their fellowships, it should be done generally to the whole body, and not by way of dispensation to individuals.

[1] Thomas Elrington, D.D., M.R.I.A., Senior Fellow and Professor of Mathematics in Trinity College, Dublin.

I did not show your Lordship's letter to the Duke, as his opinion upon both the points, viz., on the question itself, and on his recollection of his conversation with the Chancellor, was so very decided; and I shall wait to hear again from your Lordship before I take any further steps in the business, submitting to your Lordship (as an opinion only that strikes me at the moment) the propriety of the Lord-Lieutenant sending an official despatch on the subject, to be laid regularly before the Duke.

I am confident there is no person to whom the Duke of Portland would be more sorry to have given pain to, or to have shown the slightest mark of inattention, than to the Lord Chancellor; and, as it is evident that the conversation at Burlington House has been misunderstood by one or both of the parties, I had rather not mention the subject again to the Duke of Portland till your Lordship shall have been made acquainted with that fact, and till I shall have had the advantage of receiving your opinion, formed on circumstances with which you could not have been acquainted when your last letter was written. I will only now observe, that there must be some mistake about the *official* communication which your Lordship supposes to have been lately made. Nothing of the kind, indeed nothing at all upon the subject, has ever reached the Duke of Portland's office since I have been in it, nor did I ever hear it named till I received your Lordship's letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 22, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship copies of letters from Sir Charles Hamilton, Captain of his Majesty's ship Melpomene, and from Captain Gore, of his Majesty's ship Triton, containing intelli-

gence of the enemy's force in the port of Brest; also the substance of some further information on the same subject; and I am to desire that your Lordship will lay the same before his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
WILLIAM WICKHAM.

To Mr. Nepean.

Melpomene, at Sea, February 14, 1799.

Sir—I have to inform you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the badness of the weather prevented me from effectually reconnoitring Brest, till the 13th instant, when, having brought the Point of Camaret to bear South by East, per compass, distance two miles and a half, I discovered, viz., two three-deck ships, one with a flag at the mizen, the other a broad pendant; twelve two-deck ships, four or five frigates, and other small vessels. I therefore conclude that no man-of-war has sailed during the easterly winds, as this statement agrees very nearly with the information given by Sir Edward Pellew. They had all their lower yards and topmasts struck, and several had their topsail yards fore and aft in the top.

I am, &c.,
CHARLES HAMILTON.

To Mr. Nepean.

Triton, at Sea, February 12, 1799.

Sir—On Tuesday, February 5, 1799, Ushant bearing North about four leagues, the Triton fell in with a Danish brig, which sailed from Brest that morning, bound to Malaga, in ballast. On the strict examination of the Master, I learnt that the enemy had fourteen sail of the line, three of them three decks, and six frigates lying in Brest water, apparently in good condition, but very short of men; that in the Arsenal they had twenty sail of ships of all descriptions, all of which were undergoing repairs, and a great number of artificers were em-

ployed about them. He likewise informed me that the general subject of conversation was an intended invasion of Ireland in large force.

JOHN GORE.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Private. Dublin Castle, February 23, 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour herewith to enclose to your Grace the copy of a Bill which was yesterday presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Fitzgerald, the late Prime Sergeant, "to provide for the Administration of the Government of Ireland, whensoever and as often as it shall be administered by a Regent or a Regency."

When notice was given of this measure, Lord Castlereagh, in pursuance of my directions, and of the authority which I had received from your Grace, stated that he should readily assist in the measure, provided that it was brought forward in the full spirit of the Act of Annexation of the 33rd year of Henry VIII., and that its provisions reached all the cases of emergency which might arise.

In the draft enclosed, the principle of the dependency of the crown of this realm upon the Crown of England seems to be fully expressed, though perhaps not so satisfactorily as if the words of the statute of Henry VIII. had been exactly followed; but a difficulty arises with respect to the proviso which subjects the Regent for Ireland to exercise the regal rights under the same restrictions and limitations as the Regent of Great Britain shall be subject to.

The Bill also does not ascertain the power by which a Regent or Regency of England may rightfully be made. The words in the preamble—"may happen to be vested in and committed to a Regent, or Regency, or some person or persons by some other title, name, and description"—seem to include such person as may usurp the Regency on an assumed principle of right, as well as the person who may be appointed Regent

"by the two Houses of Parliament of England by Address, or by an Act of Parliament, to which the Royal assent may be given by Commission under the Great Seal or otherwise."

And, if the Bill were to use words which should ascertain the power by which alone a Regency could be rightfully appointed, the Irish Parliament would in that case assume and exercise the right of deciding the constitutional authority and powers of the British Parliament and nation in a contested point.

On the second reading of the Bill, Lord Castlereagh will state these difficulties to the House, and will move to adjourn the Committee on the Bill for such a period as will enable me to receive your Grace's sentiments upon this important subject. His Lordship will also state the possible cases wherein it may be expedient that the Regent of Ireland should be under different restrictions from the Regent of Great Britain. If, for instance, on the appointment of a Regent in Great Britain by the Parliament thereof, he should be enjoined in certain cases to act by the advice of the Privy Council, under the Bill enclosed, it would be a question whether, in a similar case, he would not be obliged to act in Ireland by the advice of the Privy Council of Ireland; and if this regulation attached to the circumstances of making treaties or declaring war, no treaty could be made, nor war declared, without the advice of the Privy Council of Ireland. And, as many possibilities of this kind may be stated, Lord Castlereagh will endeavour to insinuate that the only complete measure for putting an end to the difficulties which arise from the present situation of Ireland is a Parliamentary Union.

At the same time, while I suggest these difficulties to the Bill, it might have prejudicial consequences, if such an offer on the part of the Parliament were to be negatived; and I should hope that, though the measure may not be complete, it may be received as tending to prevent a separation of the two kingdoms.

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, February 23, 1799.

My dear Lord—Mr. Wogan Brown called on me to-day, bringing with him young Aylmer, who acted so distinguished a part in the Rebellion, and desiring to know whether there could be any objection to his being suffered to reside in this country.

The Duke of Portland directs me to inform your Lordship of this circumstance, and request that you would mention it to the Lord-Lieutenant, and favour me with his Excellency's opinion on this point for his Grace's information.

I am, with sincere regard, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 25, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's private letter of the 20th instant, which I immediately communicated to the Duke of Portland, who highly approves of the directions that his Excellency has been pleased to give to the general officers commanding in the county [province?] of Connaught.

The opposition to the Attorney-General's Bill which the state of that province has rendered so necessary, is as vexatious as it is unnatural and extraordinary, considering the quarter from which a part of it appears to come.

In this state of things, your Lordship must naturally be very anxious to have the draft of that Bill, which his Excellency transmitted to the Duke of Portland, returned to you as soon as possible. I have spoken to the Duke upon the subject this morning, and have received his directions to press the Law officers to whom it is referred to give their opinion as speedily as possible.

The Solicitor-General, having submitted his opinion on the

subject to Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, has, I know, been desired to reconsider it in one or two material points. I sincerely hope that by to-morrow, or next day, all difficulties will have been removed.

I shall shortly have to write to your Lordship on the subject of the United Irishmen, who threaten soon to become extremely formidable in this metropolis. As, however, we are well informed of all their motions, I trust that no real danger or mischief can be apprehended, and that the leaders may at any time be taken into custody, whenever they shall be preparing to execute any of their nefarious designs.

Some passengers arrived, in a cartel from Gravelines, affirm that a new levy of 100,000 men has been decreed in France, and that war is upon the point of being declared against the Emperor. I believe that no other intelligence to the same effect has been received. Not a newspaper was suffered to pass.

You will have learnt from the public prints what serious alarm is entertained for the fate of Mr. Thomas Grenville.[1] Nothing has been received since the report of the captain of the packet-boat, which you will have seen published.

Believe me, ever with the highest regard, &c.,

WM. WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, February 27, 1799.

My dear Lord—I opened, and forwarded to the Duke of Portland yesterday, your Lordship's private letter of the 22nd, enclosing a printed plan, supposed to be Mr. Tighe's, of a regulation in respect to Tithes, which Mr. Pitt, to whom I had an opportunity of showing it before I sent the messenger off to Bulstrode, considered as quite inadequate to the object, supposing the object were now desirable.

[1] This gentleman, brother of Lord Grenville, who had been appointed Minister to one of the continental courts, was stopped by the ice, in his passage up the Elbe, and there frozen up for a considerable time, during which the anxiety felt in London for his safety was truly intense.

The Attorney-General's Bill, which your Lordship inquires after, is still before the Law officers here, after having been considered by a Cabinet, at which those gentlemen were called to attend. I have written this morning to the Solicitor-General, to request that it may, if possible, be returned in the course of the day; and, as soon as it shall be received, not a moment will be lost in transmitting it to Ireland. From the opposition that your Lordship seems to expect, I fear that this delay will occasion much difficulty and inconvenience; but the measure is in itself so very extraordinary and so directly connected with some of the greatest and most delicate constitutional questions, that the Duke of Portland, though thoroughly convinced of its necessity, did not consider himself authorized to give it his sanction, in the exact shape in which it has been brought forward, until it had been thoroughly considered in all its parts by the Law servants of the Crown here.

The account your Lordship gives of the present state of the Catholics is very satisfactory. If Government has its own difficulties to encounter, I am persuaded that Opposition, composed as it now is, will meet with as many, which, though of a different kind, will not be less formidable; and in this persuasion I own that my hope of your getting well through the session rests.

We are still without any accounts of Mr. Thomas Grenville. I am however much inclined to hope well for the safety of the passengers, if not of the crew, from the circumstances that have been related to me as to the situation in which the Proserpine was seen during the time that she was in the Elbe. It will be most extraordinary if they had not, during part of that time, the means of communication *from the ship* to the shore.

I am not without hopes that the Secret Committee will be enabled to report on Friday. Their report will be followed or preceded by the arrest of a number of United Irishmen in this capital.

Soon after I had forwarded your Lordship's private letter above mentioned to Bulstrode, I received, opened, and forwarded two Despatches from the Lord-Lieutenant of the 23rd instant, brought by the Messenger Doyle, the one on the subject of the Regency Bill, the other on the state of the Counties of Galway and Mayo, and the new system adopted by the leaders of the United Irishmen in Dublin. The latter contains additional reason to make us lament the delay that has necessarily occurred in returning the draft of the Attorney-General's Bill.

The Regency Bill will be taken immediately into consideration, Mr. Pitt having desired the Duke of Portland to summon a Cabinet Council for that purpose on Friday, when the question of the disposal of the State prisoners will also be determined. I have the honour, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 28, 1799.

My dear Lord—I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting your Lordship, by the Duke of Portland's direction, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, that his Grace has been positively assured that there are now at the top of Boulton Hill, in the County of Kildare, upon the Earl of Aldborough's estate, chests of muskets and bayonets which belonged to Lord Aldborough's Yeomanry, who were routed and lost their arms in an affair during the Rebellion; and that there are near Tally Hill, seven miles from Dublin, in the County of Wicklow, four large chests of pikes, &c., buried under a large bush in a bog at the bottom of the Hill in one of Cughan's meadows. I attach the more importance to this information as it has been given by a person deep in the confidence of the Irish Rebels who have taken shelter in London.

Believe me, ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Information of Joseph Holt,[1] *given voluntarily, and by his own desire.*

Cove, February 27, 1799.

Says, that since the arrival of the convicts from Cork, viz., Dry, Desmond, Cox, Fitzgerald, and several others, they have held conversations, all of which tend to state positively that there are 20,000 rebels organized at Cork and its neighbourhood, and that they are determined to make a rising on the evening of Easter Sunday next, when they expect the French. A feint is to be made at Killala, but the principal attack is to be made about Cork. That he has heard through those people, and from the conversations of several there, that the whole country is organizing with more activity than ever, especially in Munster, and is assured and believes that great numbers of the Militia soldiers are sworn and ready to join them, and expresses strongly a desire that the Government will be very attentive to the conduct of the Militia soldiers. He is certain they have given up meetings, but they carry on their plots by writing little notes to one another, and that they encourage the disaffected to enlist in the regiments of Militia. These are, on what they call the big day, (Easter Sunday) to assassinate the well disposed, and to secure their arms and ammunition. He is certain that the country will experience great disorder next summer, and recommends again and strongly the strictest watch of the Militia, who, he says, and is certain, are not to be trusted, and that the country is now preparing for rebellion more strongly than ever, and in greater numbers. The Dutch, and particularly the Spaniards, are expected to come to their assistance. With great anxiety he again entreats that Government may exert itself in time, and take measures to prevent a rebellion, that is certainly determined on, and that of the most universal nature. The com-

[1] One of the most noted of the leaders of the insurgents in the late rebellion.

mon conversations are, that there is not a Catholic who would not kill a Protestant as soon as he would a rat. He is satisfied that if there were but five Catholics, they are determined and will pursue this principle and intent as long as they exist. Joseph Holt adds, that he is himself a Protestant.

Sir J. C. Hippisly to Lord Castlereagh.

Most Private. Curzon Street, February 27, 1799.

My Lord—It was my intention to have followed my correspondence with Lord Hobart, by addressing to your Lordship extracts from the *original* documents, which would have clearly substantiated *anything* I *advanced* in those letters which Lord Hobart thought of sufficient importance to be transmitted to your Lordship.[1] I had, in fact, begun upon this task early in last week, and told Mr. Dundas that I should address your Lordship as on Saturday last; but I have, since that period, been very ill; and, from some additional circumstances of family distress, I fear I shall not immediately be able to fulfil my intention. Lord Hobart tells me that he mentioned to your Lordship that I had seen the Speaker, who approved of my ideas. The fact is, that I went through the *whole subject* in repeated interviews with the Speaker, who was much struck at the information, which he said was entirely new to him, and, as he observed, would present the subject in a different light to Mr. Pitt from what he had ever viewed it in. I enclose to your Lordship a copy of the Speaker's last note on this subject.

With respect to Dr. Troy, having expressed myself so fully in my letters to Lord Hobart on the distinction of *regulars* and seculars, I think it incumbent on me to say also to your Lordship that Dr. Troy may be made much good use of; though,

[1] The important papers here referred to will be found in the Supplement to this year (1799) under the head CATHOLICS.

from the circumstance of his being a regular and a Dominican, in many cases he will certainly be influenced by *l'esprit du corps*. Your Lordship will, I am persuaded, feel the necessity of keeping my communications on this subject profoundly secret, as certainly even great public inconvenience might result from Dr. Troy's being acquainted with *my* sentiments. I believe him, however, to be sincerely attached to the King's Government, and it is his interest so to be.

Mr. Macdonnel, the chaplain of the Glengarry regiment, showed me, this morning, a letter from the titular Bishop Delany, who mentions Dr. Troy having read my letters to the assembly of Catholic bishops before they left Dublin. Delany speaks highly in favour of the Union, but says the excesses committed on many of the Catholic clergy still obtain.

I did not mention, in my letters to Lord Hobart, the substance of a letter from Dr. V. Bodkin, dated Galway. He did not know, when he wrote that the Friar Concanen was made a Bishop, but he says, "Concanen and Conolly," (Dominicans) "those sublime characters, whom you discovered so completely, prior to your departure from Rome, both had friends amongst the new revolutionary government, and obtained their leave to remain there." He concluded, "My countrymen are very warm, violent, and easily roused, but they *as soon* fall back and return to a better sense. I am far from thinking the Union lost; a little time will rally and bring back the disheartened and disaffected. It is the only means left to save from ruin and destruction that poor, infatuated Ireland." His letter is from Galway, the 1st of February.

The regulars will all speak ill of Dr. Bodkin, so will they of his predecessor at Rome, Dr. Bellew, titular Bishop of Killala, who was many years agent for the Seculars. The new titular Bishop Concanen, I have said, was Dr. Troy's agent. He, as well as Dr. Troy, opposed national superiors of the Irish College in Rome, knowing those nationals must be secular priests. Their efforts were ineffectual; and Dr. Troy, being outvoted

by his brethren in Ireland, submitted to the arrangement I obtained of the P[ope]. Concanen had induced the Irish students to apply to the Cardinal York; but this is a delicate subject, and I trust it in profound confidence to your Lordship, entreating you to burn this scrawl as soon as you have read it.

In my hasty PS. to my last letter to Lord Hobart, I suggested the idea of *separating* the requisition for a complete *report* and *return* of the Catholic ecclesiastics. It occurs to me that, when Government shall have obtained that return, as a preliminary to a future arrangement of provision, and when the numbers and distinctions of the regulars shall appear on the face of that return, the restrictive arrangement will naturally grow out of it; and Dr. Troy, though a regular, by a little address, may be brought not to oppose a limitation so perfectly consistent with the practice even in Catholic States. Your Lordship will excuse this, I fear, illegible effort, which I make with great pain, having an influenza in my head: but I thought the subject demanded this communication.

I told the Speaker I had the means of procuring the most certain communication with the Pope, when anything was ripe enough to be referred to that quarter, which was by a Catholic priest, highly respected by the Pope and his ministers, and also well known to the Speaker and Mr. D[unda]s. He left Italy but a few months since, and is at present in Scotland.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. C. HIPPISLY.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, February 28, 1799.

My Lord—On Tuesday last, the Bill for the more speedy Suppression of Rebellion was read a second time. On this bill being first introduced, I understand an attempt was made to unite all the persons who had voted against the Union in opposition to it.

One principle privately urged was, that it gave a power to the ministry to force that question, and another, that it degraded Parliament, and tended to prove that it was incompetent to manage the country; that it should, therefore, be considered as a Union question; and that, if it were to be allowed to pass, it should be restricted in its operations, and its duration limited for a few months, or during the session of Parliament. I understand that the Speaker, Sir John Parnell, and Mr. Ponsonby, sounded gentlemen on these points: but it was found that so many of the country gentlemen felt it their duty to strengthen the Executive power as much as possible, that all attempt to cement them in a regular opposition was impossible. Mr. Ponsonby, therefore, and Sir John Parnell, kept a backward line, and it was determined by them not to divide on the principle of the Bill, but to let it go into Committee.

This refusal of the country gentlemen to unite against this Bill proves that all attempts to form a party against Government, with a view to overturn this Administration, has entirely failed, and that, however on some particular questions a considerable opposition may appear, there is not any probability of its being successful in any measure which is necessary for carrying on the King's Government.

The Attorney-General opened the debate in a speech of considerable length, in which he entered into the state of the country and the necessity of arming the Executive Government with a legal authority to exercise Martial Law, in order to prevent the clashing of jurisdiction with the Courts of Law. The chief opposers were Mr. Barrington, Mr. Dobbs, Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Ruxton, who are barristers, and Sir L. Parsons, who, though he voted for the Bill going into Committee, spoke against its principles with great violence.

The tendency of the Opposition went to modify the power and localize the operations of the Bill. Upon this, Lord Castlereagh rose to defend its principle, and to declare that, if the Bill were to be modified, he would relinquish it. His

Lordship stated that the sole object of the Bill was not to confer any new power or prerogative on the Crown, but to render its known powers compatible with the continuance of the jurisdiction of the Courts of Law; and if Martial Law could not constitutionally co-exist, it would therefore be necessary for the Government to shut up the Courts of Law, and to prevent all the ordinary administration of justice, or for Parliament to authorize Martial Law to be exercised in concurrence with their jurisdiction. His Lordship also stated broadly this principle—that, on every great emergency, the Executive Government was bound not to wait for the previous sanction of the Legislature, but boldly to meet the emergency for the safety of the kingdom, relying upon its own responsibility, trusting to the future approbation of Parliament; but that this principle disappeared when the urgency was not transitory, and where the mischief to be obviated was permanent; and that a new principle then arose, which was that the Parliament never ought to suffer for any long period a continued deviation from the ordinary practice of the Constitution; but that it ought entirely to check such a deviation, if improper, or to legalize it, if necessary.

Some observations having been thrown out by Dr. Duigenan and Mr. Ogle, that the system on which I had acted had been different from that of my predecessor in office, his Lordship entered into a satisfactory explanation on that subject. He contended that the true principles of conduct had been equally applied by my predecessor and myself; that the coercive measures which were pursued by Lord Camden were necessary, on the breaking out of a rebellion, for its suppression, and that I had continued the system of rigour while the force of the Rebels remained in any degree collected; but that, when they were dispersed and subdued, I should have acted contrary to every principle of policy, if I had endeavoured to drive the remains of the Rebels to desperation, and had not opened a door for their return to allegiance. His Lordship also showed,

from documents which I had supplied, that, in endeavouring to reclaim the minds of the people, and to attach them to the mildness of our Government, I had not failed to apply, on proper occasions, a due measure of severity; and he exemplified this assertion by stating that, since the French invasion, 380 Rebels had been tried by Martial Law, that 131 had been capitally convicted, of whom 90 had suffered the punishment of death.

I understand his Lordship's speech had very great effect upon the House, and that several members who had intended to vote against the Bill withdrew their opposition.

The Bill being read a second time, about two in the morning, the Opposition pressed to put off the Committee till this day; and Sir John Parnell, who had just returned from dinner, said he would secede from the House upon the measure, if the Committee was pressed forward. The question, however, was carried for going into Committee yesterday. When the House met, Mr. Dawson, member for Monaghan, pressed to adjourn the subject until to-day; but, after some debate, there appeared 72 for going into Committee forthwith, 33 for postponing it.

In the Committee, Mr. Dawson moved that the Bill should operate only in Counties proclaimed, which produced a long and desultory debate, which was so far satisfactory, as it proved that there was no concert in the conduct of the opposers of the Bill. The amendment was negatived, on division, about two o'clock in the morning, 121 to 18. Colonel Foster, the Speaker's son, voted in the majority. Some other amendments were proposed and negatived, and the Bill was ordered to be reported. The members having been much fatigued, there was not a House to-day; but I have not any reason to believe that the Bill will be further resisted. When the Regency Bill was read a second time on Tuesday, Lord Castlereagh stated at length the difficulties which must attend any Bill upon the subject, and expatiated on the topics which I

have stated to your Grace in my despatch upon this subject. Mr. Fitzgerald merely said that he should endeavour to obviate the objections which had been thrown out, and it was agreed to put the Bill in Committee on Tuesday next.

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, February 28, 1799.

My dear Lord—In my letter of the 22nd of February, marked secret, I sent your Lordship, enclosed by direction of the Duke of Portland, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, copies and extracts of the last intelligence received from Brest. It seems certain that a formidable expedition is preparing there; and, though intelligence of a contrary nature has certainly been received, yet many concurrent circumstances, independent of the present state of the country in Ireland, which must naturally tempt the enemy to an invasion, make it extremely probable that Ireland is the real object of the expedition.

Your Lordship will find enclosed, marked A, the report of a very intelligent person who has lately been employed to visit the ports of France, the general tenour of which has been confirmed by other information of the same nature. It appears also certain, from authentic information lately collected here, that the United Irishmen in Dublin have received advices from France, and have communicated the same to their friends here, that an expedition will be undertaken from Brest to the coasts of Ireland in the course of the ensuing month, or the beginning of April.

In a late letter, either to your Lordship or Mr. Cooke, I mentioned that one Doyle had then lately gone over to Ireland with a number of printed cards (one of which I sent enclosed) struck in commemoration of what the disaffected call the Martyrdom of Quigley. This man is lately returned, and has brought with him, to the leaders of the Union here, the assurance that such an expedition will take place at the time above

mentioned, and that measures are now taking, with the utmost activity, for a general rising in Ireland as soon as the French shall appear on the coast. He brings instructions, at the same time, which have been communicated only to three leading persons here, to endeavour to cause a rising at the same moment of the United men in the capital, and, if possible, in Bristol and Manchester, so as that this country may be prevented from sending any troops to Ireland. If a rising cannot be effected, they hope to be able either to set fire to a dock-yard, or to assassinate his Majesty or Mr. Pitt, in the hope of making as much confusion and creating as great an alarm as possible.

I am sorry to inform your Lordship that, in furtherance of these views, the organization of Societies of United Irishmen in this capital is now carried on with an alarming activity, and that all their proceedings are directed by Irishmen lately come over, all of whom have been more or less concerned in the late Rebellion. All of them, however, are more or less under the direction of the Binnses; and, as the Duke of Portland is positively informed, and as he has every reason to believe, are subject to the control and direction of the Executive Committee in Ireland, which has been appointed by such of the State prisoners as originally filled that office, and who are now, of course, incapable of executing it.

Under these circumstances, the Lord-Lieutenant will probably receive immediately a despatch from the Duke of Portland, recommending the renewing, enforcing, and even extending the provisions of last year, with respect to persons passing from one country to the other; and similar provisions will also be made, and similar precautions taken on this side of the water.

Believe me ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter from a person lately arrived from France.

From Rochefort, where I found 3000 men of the force which was to have followed General Hardy to Ireland, I went to

Nantes, but was not allowed to visit Brest. At the former place, however, I was met by an officer of the Marine (Gerard de la Coudraye) employed at Brest, who told me that the present object was to man eight ships of the line for the next expedition to Ireland, and that they were then (beginning of January) not more than half ready. From Nantes, I came to Paris, where I learned that the Directory, though not without some hesitation and difficulty, had consented to risk 5000 men more in an attempt upon Ireland, and that the Delegates at Paris, after frequent disappointments, had received promises to this effect. On the 16th of January, I was told by one Latairière, aide-de-camp to General Championnet, who brought from Italy some colours, &c., taken from the Neapolitans (and who for this had been promoted), that he was to be employed in the expedition, and that he had received orders to hold himself in readiness; that 3000 of the troops would consist of those he saw at Rochefort, and the remainder be collected from detachments on the coast and in Brittany.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Confidential. Whitehall, March 2, 1799.

My dear Lord—Your Lordship will be surprised, and perhaps disappointed, at not hearing from me again on the subject of my letter marked private and confidential, of the 28th inst., after the faithful promise I made to communicate to you, without loss of time, such information as I could collect on the subject from Mr. Rose or Mr. Long. The motives of my silence, however, I am confident your Lordship will not disapprove.

The truth is that, upon due consideration, I thought that it would be both more satisfactory and more pleasant to your Lordship that I should remind Mr. Pitt of what he had said to me, and ask him to have the goodness to explain to me what had been usually done previous to the opening of the Irish Budget that had been omitted on this occasion, and what were the communications that he expected should take place on such occasions in

future, that I might convey such information as he might think proper to give *directly* to your Lordship, without putting you under the necessity of applying to anybody else.

Mr. Pitt, with the greatest readiness, and many expressions of kindness and attention to your Lordship, immediately desired me to say that though, by such a measure, the necessity of the Lord-Lieutenant's writing fully on the subject to the Secretary of State was by no means taken away or diminished, yet it had been usual of late years, whenever a loan was made by the Government of this country to that of Ireland, or even when the Government of Ireland borrowed money in this country, but not of the Government of England, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland to communicate very fully on the subject with the Chancellor of the Exchequer here, and not only to state the precise sum he should want, but also something of the purposes to which it was to be applied, and the Ways and Means by which provision would be made for the payment of the interest, previous to any measure being proposed to Parliament. He added that, of late years, the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer had come over to England, for the purpose of giving all the necessary information, and arranging all matters that might be subject to any difficulty, or require any previous discussion or explanation.

He said that Sir John Parnell, when in England, had stated to him generally that a sum which would probably not exceed £1,500,000 would be wanted by way of loan from this Government, to which Mr. Pitt had immediately assented; but that little had been said and nothing definitively settled as to the loan that the Irish Government might have occasion to make, independent of what it should receive from the Government of this country; that, however, it was essentially requisite that he should be fully, and, as far as possible, timely informed on that point, as, without such information, he would neither be able to make his own calculations with advantage to the public, nor give to the bidders for the loan that information

which they had a right to expect of the quantity of money that would be wanted in the year for the general service of the Empire. This was all that I learned directly from Mr. Pitt; but, as soon as the outline of the business is settled between the two Chancellors of the Exchequer, I find from Mr. Long that the detail is entirely conducted with the Secretaries to the Treasury by Mr. Puget, the Irish agent.

Since writing the above, I have been informed by Mr. Pitt, that he has this morning received a letter from Mr. Corry, giving him all the necessary information. I shall not, however, the less communicate to your Lordship all that this letter contains, not only because I was bound by my promise to write again on the subject, but because it may possibly be a satisfaction to your Lordship to know what is really expected here. I am, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 2, 1799.

My dear Lord—I feel for your Lordship and your friends, when I consider all the trouble that this unfortunate Bill, which the miserable state of the country has rendered necessary, will give you. I tremble lest the Bill already before the Commons should have reached the Lords before the Lord-Lieutenant will have received the despatch of this evening; and yet, upon further reflection, I am not quite sure that a total reconsideration of the subject by the Lords well managed and adroitly suggested, thus giving to their Lordships the credit of superior wisdom, might not be the best and least objectionable mode of getting out of the difficulty. However that may be, the opinion here is as decided as it is unanimous, that the Bill, as brought in by the Attorney-General, cannot, on any account, be suffered to pass. I reproach myself, and I fear your Lordship will have reproached me, with not having written to your Lordship very fully on the subject the moment the Bill was received. But, the fact is, that it was taken out of my hands

before I had read it, and not returned to me till it had undergone the consideration of everybody else: and your Lordship may collect, from the letter I wrote to you on the 25th ult., that even then I was unacquainted with the nature of the difficulties that had occurred.

As it is extremely late, and the messenger waiting, I shall beg leave to do nothing more than acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 25th, with an account of the opening of the Budget, and inform you that the Duke of Portland has received one of the same date from your Lordship, containing the account of Mr. Elliot's illness, and also a private one from the Lord-Lieutenant of the 26th.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 12, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed, by the Duke of Portland, to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of intelligence received from Lieutenant Hawes, of the Phœnix lugger, relative to the enemy's movements in the Texel; together with an extract of a letter from Captain Temple, of the Jalouse, on the same subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

March 10, 1799.

Lieutenant Hawes, of the Phœnix lugger, who arrived in Yarmouth Roads yesterday morning, reports that, at four o'clock on Thursday evening, the 7th instant, he was close in the Texel, by the Hake Sand, where he counted about twenty pendants, all exactly in the same situation as they have been during the winter, moored head and stern; says the Jalouse is seldom or ever out of sight of the enemy, keeping, at all times, close in by the Sand, so that no alteration whatever can take place in their motions without his knowledge.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Temple, of his Majesty's sloop Jalouse.

Off the Texel, March 7, 1799.

The French prisoners from the privateer I took report that fifteen thousand French troops are soon to march into Holland, to be embarked in transports.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, March 5, 1799.

My Lord—I am desired, by the Duke of Portland, to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Nepean, enclosing intelligence from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill,[1] at Cork, relative to some further rebellious proceedings in Ireland; and, in particular, an intended insurrection at and in the neighbourhood of the above-mentioned port on the day stated in the said intelligence; and I am to desire that you will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Nepean to Mr. Wickham.

Admiralty Office, March 5, 1799.

Sir—I am commanded, by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to send you, for the information of his Grace the Duke of Portland, the enclosed copy of intelligence received this morning from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, at Cork, relative to some further rebellious proceedings in Ireland; but, in particular, an intended insurrection at and in the neighbourhood of the above-mentioned port on the day stated in the said intelligence. I am, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

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[1] The letter of Admiral Kingsmill, referred to by Mr. Wickham and Mr. Nepean, I have not been able to find among these papers.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, March 8, 1799.

My dear Lord—I send your Lordship enclosed, by direction of the Duke of Portland, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, extracts of Secret Reports from a person employed in Holland, which arrived by the last mails, and which may not prove uninteresting to you at this present moment.

In my letter of yesterday, I omitted to insert the name of Doyle's brother (the person with whom Doyle is to lodge); he is a pawnbroker, and lives in Chancery Lane. I understand that Doyle only means to stop in Dublin for a fortnight: as he intends, afterwards, to go into the country.

Believe me ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extrait d'une Lettre de Wesel.

Janvier 7, 1799.

Les Français, après bien des instances, ont obtenu du Directoire Batave de faire sortir d'Hollande six vaisseaux de ligne, deux frégates, ainsi que deux barques canonières, pour faire, à ce qu'on assure, une descente en Irlande. On croit qu'ils se joindront à quelque flotte de Brest, ou de Rochefort.

Jusqu'à présent, trois capitaines seulement sont connus: viz., Van Braam, Capellen, Estberson le jeune: plusieurs autres s'étaient adressé au Directoire pour représenter l'impossibilité de réussir.

Extrait d'une Lettre de Rotterdam.

Janvier 12, 1799.

A Amsterdam on répare le Vischer ou Vanguerde, 76, qui portera 80 canons, et un autre de même grandeur, ainsi qu'un autre de 68 vient d'être mouillé: un second de 68 en réparation, avec les Etats-Généraux de 64.

A Rotterdam deux de 74, en construction et deux de 64 en

réparation. Pour le printemps ils seroient prêts 2 de 74, 4 de 68, et 2 frégates.

Dans le port du Texel, 2 de 74 canons, 6 de 68, 2 de 56, manquent à compléter les équipages de ces navires 1600 hommes; Mars, de 46; Ambuscade, de 36; Amphitrite, de 36; Hector, de 44; l'Heroine, de 36, hors d'état de service; Dauphin, de 24.

TRANSLATION.

Extract of a Letter from Wesel.

January 7, 1799.

The French, after many entreaties, have prevailed upon the Batavian Directory to despatch from Holland six ships of the line, two frigates, to make, as it is asserted, a descent in Ireland. It is believed that they will join some squadron from Brest or Rochefort. As yet, three captains only are known, viz., Van Braam, Capellen, and Estberson, junior; several others had addressed themselves to the Directory, for the purpose of representing the impossibility of succeeding.

Extract of a Letter from Rotterdam.

January 12, 1799.

At Amsterdam, they are repairing the Vischer, or Vanguerde, 76, which will carry 80 guns, and another of the same size; likewise another, of 68, has just been moored; a second, of 68, is under repair, with the States-General of 64.

At Rotterdam two seventy-fours building, two sixty-fours under repair. By spring, there will be ready two of 74, four of 68, and two frigates.

In the harbour of the Texel, 2 of 74, 6 of 68, 2 of 56—wanting to complete the crews of these ships 1600 men; Mars, of 46; Ambuscade, of 36; Amphitrite, of 36; Hector, of 44; Heroine, of 36, unfit for service; Dauphin, 24.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Secret and Confidential. Whitehall, March 8, 1799.

My Lord—The public attention, notwithstanding the avowed determination of Government not again to bring forward the question of Union in the course of the present Session, appears to be so entirely occupied by that subject, its influence so evidently manifests itself in the discussion of every measure which comes under the consideration of the

House of Commons, and it enables the Opposition to embarrass and retard the progress of business to so great a degree, that I am to recommend to your Excellency to take, without further delay, such means as, without abandoning the measure, you may judge to be most effectual for allaying the apprehensions which have been conceived of its effects, and which may best tend to reconcile to it *those* who, with the exception of the proprietors and trading inhabitants of Dublin, must be principally, if not solely, affected by it.

By a very ingenious and interesting letter of Lord Castlereagh's, which I had the pleasure of receiving on the 7th ult. (and to which I have not sooner adverted, from the necessity of acquiescing, for the present, in what was to be collected from the debate on the Report of the Address to be the opinion of the Irish House of Commons) the different descriptions of persons whose present interests dispose them to be adverse to the measure are so justly and accurately defined, the causes of their opposition are so clearly and distinctly detailed, and the means of removing them so judiciously and satisfactorily pointed out, (and they seem, moreover, so much within reach) that I should advise your Excellency to resort to them without loss of time, was I not sensible that your general local knowledge, and the means your situation gives you of observing the temper of the country, as well as the disposition of its leading interests, enable you to choose the most favourable mode and opportunity of making this new arrangement known, either by an open avowal of it and specification of it in detail, (which, at this moment, we conceive would scarcely be prudent) or by letting it get out by degrees, as a project that might be in the contemplation of Government, if, on communication with individuals, it should be found likely to recommend the general measure of Union. But, at whatever time, whether on receipt of this despatch, or at a remoter period, your Excellency shall determine to open this plan, I conclude that your first communication will be of that part of it which is intended to

conciliate the County interests, and to restore you the support of the independent and most respectable members of the House; and that they will be informed, in the first instance, that their relative situation in respect of seats will be exactly the same in the United as in the Irish House of Commons. For, upon the best consideration which his Majesty's servants here have been able to give the subject, they are convinced that, under whatever circumstances the measure of Union may be brought forward, the County representation should remain exactly on the same footing that it is at present, and that, consequently, each county should continue to send two Representatives.

By this arrangement, the two most important of Lord Castlereagh's classes, viz., the first and second interest in Counties, considered in that point of view only, are left, not only without a pretext of complaint, but, without their being exposed to any risk, expence, or trouble, in addition to that which they are now subject to, their situations necessarily become doubled in value and importance. How far it may be insisted on that a Union will give additional security to the first County interests your Excellency will best judge; but, inasmuch as it will necessarily reduce the number of all species of Parliamentary Adventurers, they will gain, in common with all other landed proprietors, and, as it may render it less an object to any one to endeavour to create a Catholic interest in a County, both these classes, but the first in particular, cannot but find themselves considerably benefitted. These, however, are contingencies on which I lay no particular stress: there are such abundant other reasons for reconciling these two classes to the measure, that, when once their fears respecting their own situations are quieted, they cannot but anticipate the personal as well as public advantages which must result from its adoption, and become strenuous advocates in its favour.

With respect to the borough proprietors, though I cannot subscribe to any proposal for increasing the number of Representatives beyond 100 at the utmost, and am not prepared to

admit Lord Castlereagh's valuation of either English or Irish Boroughs, I have no difficulty in authorizing your Excellency to hold out the idea of compensation to all persons possessed of that species of property, and I do not scruple to advise that the compensation should be made upon a liberal principle. But, as this part of the plan cannot be carried into execution without attending to a variety of considerations and entering into great details, I will go no further into it at present than to say that I should strongly incline to follow, as nearly as may be, the method adopted in Scotland of classing the Boroughs, which has, at least, the authority of near a century's experience. But I cannot conclude this part of the subject without expressing a hope that, from the additional value which the Borough seats will acquire in the United Parliament, exclusive of any consideration of the seats for Counties, it will be found that this very great and never to be lost sight of object will be attained upon much easier terms, in all respects, than the caution of Lord Castlereagh will allow him to imagine.

As to the lawyers and those adventurers, who were tempted to speculate in Parliamentary politics by the cheapness of seats, at the last general election, there can be no pretenders to compensation whom I should be less disposed, and, I should hope, it will be less necessary, to consider than both, particularly the last description of them.

As soon as the two descriptions of County interests are secured, of the practicability of which I have little doubt, and in which a considerable part of the third class, or Borough proprietors, is necessarily included, there seems a most obvious and easy mode of settling the pretensions of the professional politicians, and, at the same time, an opportunity of giving an additional boon to all the Borough proprietors. Your Excellency will anticipate my meaning, and infer that I can allude to nothing but a dissolution of the present Parliament—a step which, I should imagine, would be much approved by the public, and would be highly agreeable to such of the Borough

proprietors as would, by that means, be restored to the possession of their own natural weight and importance, and be completely relieved from the tyranny of those declaimers whom they unwarily brought into the House of Commons at the last general election. As a popular measure (as far as that may be thought worth attention), it might have its effect in being represented as a proof of the candour of Government in resorting, on such an occasion, to the sense of the constituent body. But this is an idea which I throw out with entire deference to your better judgment, because, notwithstanding the advantage which it seems to afford, in the point of view in which I see it, it may be capable of producing consequences which, in the opinion of a closer and more experienced observer, may render it too dangerous an experiment to be attempted.

The apprehensions of all descriptions of Proprietors and resident inhabitants in Dublin are too natural to be treated as prejudices, or to be expected to be got the better of by the common means of persuasion or influence. Nothing, however, should be omitted that can conciliate or dispose them to acquiesce in the measure. In respect to representation, I conceive there could be no objection to put them upon the same footing as the Counties, and to leave them in possession of the two Seats they now have in the House of Commons. Any and every other indulgence might also be conceded to them; but, at the same time, they must be given to understand that, whenever it shall be thought advisable to bring on the measure of Union, their supposed local interests will not be considered as any obstacle to it, and must not be expected to be put in competition with those of the kingdom in general; and the stability and aggrandizement of the British Empire.

I have gone at greater length than I first intended into this subject; but I have been irresistibly led to pursue the masterly outline, which has been traced for me by Lord Castlereagh. My anxiety, also, that the remainder of your Session should be rendered as easy as, I am persuaded, it will be honourable

to you, was a further inducement; nor was it the least of my motives to suggest to your Excellency the best means which occurred to me to quiet the alarms and jealousies which prevailed, and reunite the power and property of the kingdom, as well for the purpose of discouraging the enemy from attempting, and defeating him should he attempt to invade you, as for the purpose of promoting the success of a Union, the necessity of which is fully and incontrovertibly proved by the event of every day.

I have the honour, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 12, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed, by the Duke of Portland, to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a paper, which has been received from Captain d'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, containing intelligence from Brest and St. Maloes.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Substance of the information received the 3rd day of March, of the movements at Brest to the 24th of February inclusive, and at St. Maloes to the 2nd of March, 1799.

Brest, February 19th. The Montblanc, Wattigny, and Tell, with the frigates Cornélie and Fraternité, were mustered this morning, and received orders to go out to Bertheaume.

February 24th. Small detachments of troops that have embarked upon the former have been landed, and their sailing suspended till further orders. The four frigates and a corvette (frigates Cornélie, Fraternité, Precieuse, and Vengeance, corvette Tactique) are still under sailing orders, with four months' sea provisions. Their crews have been paid two months in advance.

State of the Road on the 24th of February—2 three-deck ships, 12 of 74 guns, 8 frigates, 1 corvette, 1 cutter, and 2 privateers. The convoy that came on the 5th, under the escort of the frigate La Creole, is in the harbour unloading. The seven ships ready in the harbour will soon be out in the Road, as their crews are completing daily by the arrival of new levies. 80 waggons, loaded with rope, have arrived within these few days, but cables continue scarce. The Terrible and Invincible have landed their lower deck-guns, for what purpose it is not known. Within the last ten days, money to the amount of seven millions of livres has arrived at the Treasury from Paris. Five millions more are on their way. It is stated, that all this money is intended to be embarked in the frigates destined for the secret expedition in contemplation, which, although there is no affectation about the head-quarters to say it is intended for the colonies, it is suspected that Ireland is its more probable destination, as officers of that nation have arrived at the same time, though as privately as it was possible. The artificers have ceased working on the Indivisible and Vengeur.

St. Maloes, 27th February. Four of the gun-vessels of Granville have brought iron ballast for the frigates at Solidor.

March 2nd. The garrison of the town consists now of 2100 men, part of which is about to proceed for Brest.

The greatest activity is put to collect seamen for Brest. The invalids of this district are distributed on the stationary vessels, and all the able crews are sent to Brest; and, as the privateers return, their crews are equally sent there.

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Castlereagh.

London, March 16, 1799.

My dear Lord—In consequence of your Lordship's desire to be informed of my sentiments respecting the part it may be

advisable for you to take on the usual motion for voting the thanks of the House to the Speaker for his speech in presenting the Money Bills to the Lord-Lieutenant, I must observe to you that, among the advantages to which Ministers are entitled, it appears to me that the right of introducing and conducting all measures which affect the public interest may be reckoned one of the most material, and ought never to be suffered, if possible, to pass into other hands. As the proceeding therefore in question is of a public nature, and has been always, as I understand, brought forward by the Chief Secretary, I cannot hesitate in advising your Lordship to keep it in its ancient course, and, if the terms in which the Speaker delivers himself do not exceed the bounds of decorum in such a manner as to call upon the House rather to pass a censure upon him than to make him a compliment, I should hope that you would be yourself the mover of the vote of thanks. I neither recommend nor should I have pleasure in seeing advances made by the Chief Secretary to Mr. Foster; but an acknowledgment, in conformity to an accustomed practice, made on the part of the Secretary to the Speaker, for his having performed an official act of duty with propriety, is certainly no degradation of the private or public character of the former: whereas, I am not sure that a transfer of the usage, even into the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might not be construed to be an act of soreness, which would be treated as an avowal of the Speaker's superiority—a consolation which I should be sorry, and which I cannot believe will be afforded him as long as I am at liberty to indulge the idea of the triumph you gave all the real friends of Government by your very judicious and liberal determination of supposing you could not but have been invited to the Ways and Means dinner.

With respect to Government, no difference can be made in the common estimation of the public whether the thanks to the Chair are moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chief Secretary, or any other of the confidential advisers of

the Lord-Lieutenant, and, after having adverted to the circumstance which I have mentioned in the preceding paragraph, I should be ashamed of touching again upon the personal ground. I cannot, however, but wish you to look at the subject in another point of view, and to consider the embarrassments to which you may be exposed if the Opposition, or even any of the young independent members, should take possession of the motion; for, although I am inclined to believe that the visible alteration in the temper and feelings of the House, the broken and distracted state of the Opposition, the Speaker's being convinced of the decline of his party and influence both within and without doors, and the proofs daily given him that the Union neither is in reality nor can be made an unpopular measure, may restrain him from expressing himself upon this occasion in a manner which ought to deprive him of the usual mark of civility. It is not improbable that persons of the description I have mentioned may be eager to pay him this compliment, and may have unwarily accepted suggestions, which may commit the House, though not into a direct engagement against a Union, into such an approbation of his conduct as may imply a disapprobation of that of Government, and retard the composure of those differences which have impeded the re-establishment of that confidence to which Government is entitled: I therefore cannot but submit to your Lordship that the best and perhaps the only means of guarding against this species of mischief, and securing the House from giving way to an extravagant strain of compliment, and being deluded by the appearance of civility to the Speaker to imply a disapprobation or dissatisfaction at the conduct of Government, will be to take the measure into your own hands, and to let him and the public see distinctly and precisely the reasons for which the thanks of the House are to be given to him.

Notwithstanding, however, what I have assumed upon the authority of what I conceive to be the existing circumstances of the country, both as they affect the Speaker and the public,

I am very far from thinking it impossible that he may imagine his case to be so desperate as to hazard on the occasion of presenting the Bills the avowal of opinions and sentiments which may oblige your Lordship to make a motion of a very different nature from that which I have been discussing, and to call for the animadversion and censure of the House; and, although I am assured, by the repeated proofs I have of your temper and forbearance, that, if such a proposal shall be made by you, the honour and character of Government have rendered it indispensable. I must not omit to recommend it to you not only to resist the motion of thanks, but to anticipate it if necessary, by taking possession of the House the moment the Speaker resumes the chair, and calling upon them to assert and vindicate their own honour and their own privileges, by protesting against the breach of them of which the Speaker was guilty at the Bar of the House of Lords, in presuming to give his own as the sentiments of the House, and usurping *powers* inconsistent with his situation and with the trust reposed in him. But I do not mean to suggest the mode which it will be best for your Lordship to adopt under the last supposed circumstances, the existence of which no man can deprecate more sincerely and earnestly than I do, and in which, if you shall happen unfortunately to be involved, your own abilities and judgment are fully capable to extricate you from them. But, as the case may happen, I thought it my duty to advert to it, and not to leave a doubt on your mind of the propriety of meeting it and repelling it with all the fortitude and energy of Government.

I am, with great truth and regard, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 16, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship herewith an extract of a letter received

from the Continent, from a person employed to collect information from Holland, and I am to desire that you will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant, for his Excellency's information. I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract.

By a person lately from Amsterdam I am informed that the Dutch fleet have received orders to be in readiness for immediate sailing. Four thousand land troops are to be embarked on board this fleet. It is conjectured that a *conscription militaire* for the levying an army of 90,000 Bataves will soon take place; some young men have already left Holland on that account, and it is thought great disturbances will arise in consequence thereof.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 16, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a letter from Lieutenant Harrison, commanding the Spider cutter, stating the intelligence he had received of the sailing of a force from Bourdeaux; also a copy of one from Mr. Nepean to Admiral Kingsmill in consequence thereof.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Spider, off Falmouth, March 10, 1799.—6 P.M.

Sir—At noon this day I boarded a Prussian vessel eight days from Bourdeaux, from whom I obtained the following intelligence, which I conceived of moment to communicate to their Lordships. Have stood in with the schooner for Falmouth, being the nearest port to forward this letter.

Intelligence.

On the 27th of February, five frigates, four transports, and three store-ships, with troops (the number unknown), sailed

from Bourdeaux, and, on the following day, eighteen sail more, consisting of privateers, armed vessels, and small craft, with troops also sailed, the report said for Brest.

The man from whom I had this information is an American, had been taken by the French about six months past, and had got off in the above Prussian vessel. He appeared to be an intelligent man, and was master of the American ship when seized by the French. He farther adds they were building several privateers at Bourdeaux from 16 to 24 guns.

I am, &c., RICHARD HARRISON.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Admiralty Office, March 13, 1799.

Sir—I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you the copy of a letter which I have this day received from Lieutenant Harrison, of the 'Spider' cutter. Though their Lordships have no reason to suppose, from any intelligence which had before reached them, that the enemy had any force to the extent mentioned in the letter at Bourdeaux, or any information that could lead them to suppose that any expedition of that description was likely to sail from thence for Ireland, they have nevertheless thought it right to reinforce the squadron under your command by the ships Russell, Phœbe, and Proselyte, to be employed by you as occasion may be found to require. The three ships are now at Plymouth ready to sail, and may be expected to join you very shortly after the receipt of this.

I am, &c., EVAN NEPEAN.

Admiral Kingsmill.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 16, 1799. 6 P.M.

My dear Lord—Secret information is this instant received that gives strong reason to believe that a military force is about to embark on board the fleet in the Texel. Probabilities are that its destination is for Ireland, but I have seen nothing yet

to give me that certainty that was acquired of the destination of the last expeditions from the coast of France to that country.

Believe me, with the sincerest regard, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, March 18, 1799.

My Lord—The communication made to your Excellency of the sentiments of the King's confidential servants, respecting a Regency Bill, at the time I was first informed of them, giving reason to believe that it was in the contemplation of the gentlemen in Opposition to bring forward such a measure, and the observations then submitted to you as to the terms and conditions on which its introduction might be consented to, inclined me to imagine that it would not be necessary for me to recur to that subject, and I was the more confirmed in that opinion by your Excellency's despatch of the 23d of February, by which you informed me of the very able and judicious manner in which Lord Castlereagh had proposed to treat the subject, and the advantages which he expected to derive from the discussion of it in favour of the Union. But, as I find that my conclusion was not well founded, and that the Bill is now suspended for the purpose of allowing time for further consideration, and for your receiving any observations or suggestions which may have occurred to his Majesty's Government here, I hasten to acquaint you that the opinion we originally entertained of the measure remains exactly the same; that, though it was generally considered to be unnecessary and a consequence which might be well insisted on to be necessarily dependent on the Annexation, that as it did not appear that any injury to the Constitution or connexion of the kingdoms was to be apprehended from it, should it be adopted, with the restriction I had the honour of stating to you, it was judged advisable in the pressure of the moment, and

assailed as you then were by every description of parliamentary schemers, to wave the objection which its futility and uselessness suggested, and to make this concession with the view of the possibility of its enabling you the better to resist attempts of a more insidious and dangerous tendency.

The objection which is suggested by Lord Castlereagh, and in which there is certainly great weight, namely, it is a measure which ought not to have found its way into the House but by a message from the Crown, did not, I confess, occur to any of us at the time of our deliberation upon the intended Bill, and it has now been so long before the House that I incline to think the point of form would not now be brought forward with any kind of grace were the expectations of the advantages that are to arise from the discussion of the measure to be wholly abandoned; but, even supposing the objection should be started by some independent member, who is a friend to order, I should recommend that it should be resisted on the ground of the distinction which exists between an Act for the appointment of a particular person to be Regent, or which gives a power of such appointment to the Crown, and one which purports only to be explanatory of the Act of the 33d of Henry VIII.

I should hope now that I had so fully explained the views of Government respecting this question, that no further doubt could remain with your Excellency concerning that subject, for the full investigation of which Lord Castlereagh has created an interest which I never expected to feel, from the indifference with which I first looked to its final termination. Desirous, however, as I may be that he should have the opportunity he has so much reason in thinking this measure would afford him of establishing the necessity of a Union, I would submit to your Excellency whether it may be worth while to delay the conclusion of the Session for that purpose, and the more so as I am much disposed to believe that the means of conviction are most substantially employed, and the

work of conciliation more easily and securely effected in the recess of Parliament than in the bustle of a Session.

I cannot close this letter without congratulating your Excellency upon the acquisition you have made of Mr. Corry's talents and activity, by placing him in a situation where both can be so advantageously employed, and where, I hear, they have been so eminently displayed throughout the course of the Session. I am, &c.,

PORTLAND.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the Bill for the suppression of the Rebellion and the other Bills were brought here this morning by Hyde, the messenger, and that I hope nothing will prevent his returning with them on Wednesday, which is the first day his Majesty will be in town again. P.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 18, 1799.

My dear Lord—The bearer, Captain Schouler, being charged on the part of his Prussian Majesty to inspect such of the Irish rebels, now in custody, as may be found fit for service and willing to engage in the service of his Prussian Majesty; the Duke of Portland has granted him permission to proceed to Ireland for that purpose, and I am desired by his Grace to recommend him to your Lordship's protection and good offices.

Believe me ever, &c., &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 20, 1799.

My dear Lord—The Report of the Secret Committee was made on Friday, by Mr. Secretary Dundas, and the Report ordered to be printed. I am sorry that it will not be in my power to transmit your Lordship a copy of it before it comes from the press. I had hoped to have been able to procure a

printed copy of the Report itself without the Appendix, but it contains a history of the Societies that had been formed in the metropolis and the rest of the kingdom since the French revolution, connecting the whole together, and showing that, under different names, shapes, and pretences, they have all pursued but one and the same object, namely, the destruction of the existing Government, and the establishment of a Democratical Republic, after the manner and under the protection of France. The Report then goes on to explain the present state of things, in a manner that must draw the attention of the public as well to a sense of the general danger as to the means of preventing it.

What legislative measures will be adopted in consequence of this Report, I cannot say, as I believe that the Cabinet has not yet come to any resolution on those which have been submitted to their consideration. The Committee, before they reported to the House, had but too good reason to be satisfied of the evidence on which a material part of their Report was founded. Some doubts having arisen whether the Society of United Irishmen in this metropolis was regularly organized and formed into divisions, a warrant was granted by the Duke of Portland last Sunday week, and one of the houses searched, at which a division was said regularly to meet.

Fifteen persons were found sitting round a little table, with a letter from Doyle, of whom your Lordship has often heard, open before them, addressed to No. 2; a list of the secretaries to some of the other divisions was also taken, a copy of which your Lordship will receive after the examination of these people, which will take place to-morrow.

The Attorney General's Bill will be returned to-day: I hope and trust it will now answer every purpose. I hope to write your Lordship more fully on the subject to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

I have just obtained the Report of the Committee of Secrecy.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 20, 1799.

My Lord—I send your Lordship enclosed, by the direction of the Duke of Portland, extract of a letter from the Prince de Bouillon, to Mr. Secretary Dundas, containing secret information respecting the preparations carrying on in the port of Brest, and I am to request your Lordship will be pleased to lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Substance of information received the 11th March, 1799, of the movements at Brest, from the 25th February, to the 4th March, inclusive.

Jersey, March 12, 1799.

Brest, February 25, 1799.—The corvettes l'Etonnant and la Mignonne sailed this morning to go and meet a convoy expected with wines from the Garonne; one was signalized in sight at the time they sailed.

February 26.—The four frigates under orders make demonstrations daily of a disposition to proceed to sea the first favourable opportunity; the four line of battle ships, which, together with the above, formed the division ready for sea, under the orders of Citoyen Redon, are kept ready, but not expected to proceed with the frigates, upon whom the money lately arrived and some Irish officers are embarked. Waggons are arriving in large convoys every day from different quarters, loaded with cordage and requisition naval stores; 1,800 waggons are announced at the bureaux with such stores to complete the armament of the squadron equipped for Admiral Bruix to command, which is pressed to be ready early in Germinal.

March 4.—Tirannicide, of 74 guns, and the frigate La Cocarde, are ready to go into the road. The Convention, the Mutine, and the Entreprenant, all three of the line of battle,

are got into the bason to be cut down *rasé*, as is also the Berwick to be, as soon as there is room for her. Citoyen Morand de Galles has received his commission of Commandant d'Armes of the Ports of the Levant, and ordered to proceed to Naples, where Citoyen Renaudin is already gone to inspect and order preparations for an armament. Citoyen Consant succeeds as Commandant d'Armes (Admiral of the Port), Morand de Galles, and the Chef de Division, Bois Sauveur, is Commandant en second.

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Right Hon. George Rose to Lord Castlereagh.

Old Palace Yard, March 21, 1799.

My dear Lord—The question you put on the Bill enclosed in your letter of the 14th is an extremely difficult one for me to answer, especially as I am not acquainted with many of the circumstances which are entitled to consideration on the important subject. On the Bank here suspending their payments in cash, an Act was passed permitting the issue of small notes on demand, which, having been continued from time to time, is this day renewed for some months, and, I am inclined to believe, will be prolonged before the end of the Session: 20*s.* notes are now allowed, whereas heretofore nothing under £5 was suffered; and in Scotland, where nothing under 20*s.* was permitted, they are now allowed to issue as low as 10*s.* It certainly does not, however, by any means follow that a similar practice should be allowed to prevail in Ireland; the authority, indeed, under which your Bill was introduced is so respectable a one that I feel a strong disinclination to express even the slightest doubt about it, although your proceeding is directly opposite to ours, as you are about to restrain a right which we thought it expedient to extend.

I hazard the suggestions I am about to offer with extreme diffidence, I assure you; I submit them only because I think I should not be justified in withholding anything that may

have the remotest chance in being useful in assisting the deliberations you will have on the business before it is again discussed in public. Is it possible for the Irish Bank to be prepared to pay in cash the whole of their paper before the 24th of June next? Without knowing the amount of the small notes current, or the sum in guineas which the Bank of Ireland can spare in addition to those now in circulation, that cannot, I think, be answered.

It is, perhaps, intended that Irish bank-notes shall be substituted for the others, which would lessen the risk of mischief, and the question would be only whether one National Bank should monopolize the whole paper circulation of the country, or whether it should continue to be divided among the banks generally. If I could venture an opinion where I have so little information, it would be against such a monopoly. Any measure that would bring into considerable danger the mercantile credit at such a time as the present should be well weighed. If the amount in circulation is large, and the paper to be called in so suddenly as the 4th [24th ?] of June, many issuers of those notes might be distressed to get bank-notes to change for their own, and the apprehensions of distress might hurt both the individual and the general mercantile credit, which might likewise probably involve your national credit.

It may have happened the bankers and others may have lately issued more notes than usual, from the necessity of keeping gold to answer them being lessened, from the general understanding that no man's credit can be hurt by his not being able to pay in cash. Persons on your side of the water may have also been led to make larger issues than they would otherwise have done with a view of preventing a distress and discredit which the convulsion in the country might otherwise have produced. If that conjecture is nearer the truth than a supposition that the evil has arisen from an extravagant speculation at such a time as this, a possible remedy might be to compel the private banks to proceed only *pari passu* with the

National Bank in offering certain cash payments—which would perhaps be a measure just in itself, and might deter the banks from any extravagant additional issues, as they could not know how soon they might have to pay cash in an increased proportion to their more recent issues.

Another expedient might be to require security of Irish Funds, or otherwise—such a one has often been thought of here—or the number might be limited by licences to the present issuers; or both these ideas might be adopted to secure the solvency and respectability of the persons who take up the trade.

I am not sure whether forgeries (of which the danger must be considerable) would not be more likely to be checked by the small circulating paper being issued by private banks, rather than being confined to the public one; as, in the former case, the notes much oftener return into the hands of the issuers than in the latter.

Is it not worthy of consideration, too, whether, under existing circumstances, the general circulation of notes may not assist in interesting the Irish people who hold them in the support of property; and is it not possible that too large a substitution of guineas might lead to a system of hoarding, either from malevolence or timidity? It is now incontrovertible that almost the whole mischief here, in 1797, arose from the latter, to which I allude in my pamphlet.[1] I think, too, the danger is not entirely visionary of the Bill in its present shape creating a distress among the lower and middling class of people, by depriving them suddenly of a small circulating medium, and frequently compelling shopkeepers and others to sell on credit. The Anti-Unionists may talk of the dissimilarity of the Bill going through the English and the Irish Parliaments.

[1] The pamphlet, then just published, to which Mr. Rose refers in this and the following Letter, was entitled, "A brief Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce, and Manufactures of Great Britain."

Another consideration has since presented itself, which is, that the Irish bankers may be under an increased difficulty to find cash to pay immediately their small notes, from their having kept by them a much smaller quantity since the custom has prevailed of not paying in cash than they formerly used to keep: they used probably to trust to getting guineas from the Bank of Ireland when other resources failed them.

I cannot flatter myself with a hope that anything I have said can be useful to you; but it is really not in my power to give you further assistance, without being better informed on the subject than I am. I am, &c.,

GEORGE ROSE.

Right Hon. George Rose to Lord Castlereagh.

Old Palace Yard, March 22, 1799.

My dear Lord—I answered your letter yesterday in the best way I could, in the midst of urgent business pressing on me before the holidays; since which, it has occurred to me that it might be useful to suggest to your Lordship further that the Bank of England is *permitted*, not *directed*, to pay cash, after certain notices given to such part of their creditors as they please; and that, in pursuance of such permission, they have paid their Notes under £5 (that is, those of £1 and £2) which had been issued to a certain period. The amount of them they have, of course, always known, and, after a certain interval, it is probable they will pay Notes of a like kind to a later period, though they have not promised to do so. Our Bank have hitherto prescribed to themselves no bounds to the number of these small Notes; but have given as many as were asked for in exchange for larger ones. Thus a possessor of large Notes has a reasonable prospect of exchanging them in time for cash. This prospect, however, would be less promising if any serious calamity should be apprehended.

I mention these circumstances to show how I understand

what is meant to be done by your Bill, because your Lordship observes there is a willingness on the part of the Irish Bank to pay their Notes under £5, as has been done in England; which, you suppose, might in itself go a great way to check the inordinate circulation of private paper, as the issuers would feel themselves under the necessity of adopting a similar arrangement; whereas, it appears to me that such a one would secure only the payment of private Notes of an old date, which might be replaced by the issue of new ones; and the private Banker would possibly claim a right to exercise the same discretion as to the number of old Notes he should discharge that is exercised by the National Bank; and thus he would not like to adopt either exact times of payment, or the date they might fix for their Notes to be paid off. The public Bank has its option; it pays when it likes, and only as much as it likes: the private Banks would, I presume, be compelled to pay, and to do so, even in the event of the present partial and occasional payment of the public Bank being suspended, which would certainly make an important difference.

But, the most important difficulty to which I referred in my letter of yesterday is—how are the issuers of small Notes to possess themselves of the necessary cash? In ordinary times, the private Bankers had, I take it for granted, a certain sum, in cash, lying in their houses, which was calculated to be sufficient for the ordinary demands upon them; but, from the custom of not paying in cash, they may not be provided now. On the other hand, I am sure there are very great inconveniences to be apprehended from the unrestrained issue of small Notes by individuals. Your Lordship, and those with whom you advise on the spot, can best judge whether the suggestions I offered yesterday as expedients to check the practice, or any other better or more effectual ones, can be adopted.

I send you a second edition of my pamphlet, for the sake of the statements in p. 38, which show, for the first time, the true state of our trade, which we could never give till we were

enabled to do so by the operation of the Convoy Tax. The statements are from accounts before the House of Lords which have been sent to you. I am, &c.,

GEORGE ROSE.

Knowing that our Chancellor entertained an opinion on the subject of the issue of small Notes being permitted, I sent him both my letters to you, and I enclose you his letter on the subject.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 23, 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour to send your Lordship, enclosed, by direction of the Duke of Portland, six Extracts of letters from Sir James Craufurd, his Majesty's Minister at Hamburg, to Lord Grenville, received by the last Mails, containing secret information respecting United Irishmen now in that town, together with a copy of a Memorial of Dennis O'Neill to the French Government; and I am to request your Lordship will be pleased to lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant, for his Excellency's information.

With the greatest truth and regard, I am, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

EXTRACTS.

Hamburg, January 24, 1799.

Hastings, who escaped from the custody of Basilico, the messenger, has been for some time at Altona. I have not taken any measures to have him arrested, conceiving that, if it had been an object of any importance to his Majesty's Government, I should have received instructions to that effect.

I have learnt, since writing the above, that one of the United Irishmen, who lately went from hence to Paris by the way of Holland, has written to one of his friends here that something *will still be done*, and that the fleet in the Texel is preparing to put to sea. He adds, "I dare say no more for fear my letter should miscarry." He then mentions that some

of the Irishmen at Paris are ordered to Rochelle, from whence they have it in contemplation to send another expedition to Ireland.

I have also been informed of a circumstance which seems to confirm this supposition. It is, that the French Government have, of late, intercepted all correspondence between the United Irishmen here and their committee at Paris, which measure has been uniformly adopted upon the eve of the departure of the several expeditions which they have sent against Ireland.

January 25, 1799.

There are two persons, by name H—— and B——, United Irishmen, I understand, lately arrived here. They are going to France, under the names of D—— and F——, or F——. There is also one J—— here, an Irishman, of the same description, but of whom I know nothing more. This, therefore, particularly considering how common a name he bears, is very vague.

February 5, 1799.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a few hints which I have received respecting the following United Irishmen.

One M'C——, of Belfast, said to have been very active in organizing the Rebellion in Wexford, is at the country-seat of his uncle or brother, an eminent watchmaker and jeweller, in King Street, Cheapside, London.

One P——, of Dublin, is, with one St. J——, of the Post Office, at a friend's, No. 151, Drury Lane. St. J—— has taken the name of J——.

One C——, who is here, has had a letter from one O'M——, of the County of Meath, desiring to know where the *arms* are concealed; that "many Counties had already risen," &c. O'M—— was a captain under C——, in the late insurrection. He says, in his letter, that O'Connor and his companions are in as high repute as ever with the people.

This intelligence is in itself of no other importance than, as

it shows, that something might be learnt from O'M——'s correspondence, were it intercepted.

One D——, arrested at Oliver Bond's, but now at large, is a member of the new Executive Committee lately chosen in Dublin.

One O'H——, of Antrim, now a merchant in Dublin, is a great patron of United Irishmen.

At the foot of the vault in St. Bride's churchyard, Dublin, are some hundred pikes and bayonets, in a fir box, at about five feet deep. These are the arms wrote for by O'M—— to C——. It will be of consequence to have these arms taken away with as little *éclat* as possible; as, I believe, no one knows of this depôt besides the parties concerned and the person from whom I have received this information, who, of course, is afraid of being committed.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a Memorial sent by one Dennis O'Neill, a United Irishman, to the French Government, in which he says that he left Ireland the second of December, at which time the people had become more united than ever.[1]

One Longmarre, a Frenchman, who set out to-day for England, but without a passport from me, has been pointed out to me as a suspicious person, whether justly or not I have yet no means of knowing. An active correspondence is kept up, I understand, between the coast of Holland, particularly the port of Flushing, and the east coast of England, by means of smuggling vessels.

February 12, 1799.

M'C——, St. J——, and P——, whom I mentioned to your Lordship as frequenting No. 151, Drury Lane, are, I am informed, on the point of setting out from London for this place.

[1] Mr. Wickham here makes a long quotation from O'Neill's Memorial, which, as the Memorial is hereafter given entire, it would be superfluous to introduce.

One D——, alias C——, who murdered Pentland, the Revenue officer, at Drogheda, a man much esteemed by Mr. Beresford, I understand, is now here.

One O'R——, an Irishman, lately arrived here from Copenhagen, is just setting out for Paris.

February 26, 1799.

Certain accounts have been received from France that the Directory have sent orders to Brest for the equipment of twenty-four ships of war. The number of ships of the line is not specified.

I am informed that one Smith, who acted as a general officer in the rebel army at Ballynahinch, and for whom a reward was offered by his Majesty's Government, is now at Liverpool, where, I am told, he is concealed by H—— and Q——, Irish woollen-drapers, settled in Pool Lane, Liverpool, to whom, I understand, that Irish Rebels usually address themselves for assistance on their arrival in that town. G—— and B——, two Irishmen, I have also frequently mentioned, and who go by the name of Gordon, are said to be on the point of returning to Ireland.

March 12, 1799.

O'R——, whom I mentioned in a former despatch, is lately gone to Paris.

There is here one S——, an Irishman, a friend of Duckett. He will shortly set out for Ireland, or, perhaps, is already gone, from whence he is to correspond with Duckett. He is about thirty years of age, five feet eight inches high, very thin, delicate complexion, and wears at present a red curled wig.

Since writing the above, I am informed that O'R—— is now at Amsterdam, with a cousin of O'Connor, and a relation of General Kilmaine. O'R——, I am told, writes word, that they hope to set out soon with the expedition which is preparing at the Texel for Ireland.

One M'Carthy, captain of an American trading vessel now

here, is, I understand, to set out to-day for London. He leaves his ship here. He has been represented to me as an acquaintance of some of the Rebel Irish now here.

Extrait d'une Lettre de Bréme.

Fevrier 12.

On est très occupé à mettre la flotte en état de même qu'à rassembler les troupes destinées à être embarquées. Elles consistent en sept bataillons d'infantérie, qui devoient être complettés par les deux autres bataillons de leur demi-brigade, et deux bataillons de chasseurs. Je ne suis pas encore informé de la force des corps d'artillérie et de cavalerie, qui doivent aussi être embarqués. Quelques ingénieurs seront aussi du voyage. Daendels aura le commandement de ces troupes, fort contre son gré, mais le général François, qui est lassé de lui, insiste là-dessus. Le tems nous apprendra si l'on osera risquer de faire sortir la flotte attendu que le mécontentement qui y régne de même que partout ailleurs nést point un secret.

Vous aurez vû dans les gazettes le plan d'organisation des bourgeoisies. Les François veulent que ce plan soit mis en exécution sur-le-champ, parcequ'ils ont exigé qu'on rendit mobile un corps de quelques milliers d'hommes, ou bien qu'on leur payat cinquante millions. On a consenti à la première de ces réquisitions à cause de l'impossibilité de satisfaire à la seconde. La désertion parmi les troupes est incroyable. On est déjà obligé d'employer des bourgeois, pour s'y opposer et à camper. Une compagnie entière de grenadiers est aux arrêts, ne voulant absolument pas se laisser embarquer. Il en est de même des dragons, qui sont de la plus mauvaise volonté, et qu'on garde à vue.

Extrait d'une Lettre de Bréme.

Fevrier 22.

D'après toutes les informations qu'on reçoit de l'intérieur, il ne peut plus rester de doute que l'ordre ne soit donné de

faire sortir la flotte au premier bon vent, et, vu le nombre des troupes qu'elle a abord, le projet est d'entreprendre quelque descente sur la côte d'Irlande. Il paroît également que l'état dans lequel se trouve la ligne de défense de l'Yssel a commencé à donner des inquiétudes aux meneurs, puisque l'on vient de nommer une commission pour inspecter cette frontière et regler ce qui pourroit manquer, ou être amélioré pour sa défense : le tout à la suite des remontrances sérieuses du Général Brune sur l'état négligé où se trouve la défense du pays. Il a insisté également qu'on consentit à ce que les troupes françoises aujourd'hui en Hollande fussent augmentées de 25,000 hommes, sur le même pied que celles qui s'y trouvent.

TRANSLATION.

Extract of a Letter from Bremen.

February 12.

They are very busily engaged in getting the fleet ready, and likewise in collecting the troops destined to be embarked. They consist of seven battalions of infantry, which are to be completed by the two other battalions of their demi-brigade, and two battalions of chasseurs. I am not yet informed of the strength of the corps of artillery and cavalry which are likewise to be embarked. Some engineers will accompany them. Daendels will have the command of these troops, very much against his inclination; but, the French general, who is tired of him, insists on that point. Time will show whether the Government will dare venture to send off the fleet, while the discontent which prevails in it and everywhere else is no secret.

You will have seen in the newspapers the plan of the organization of the burghers. The French insist that this plan be put into execution immediately, because they have required that a corps of several thousand men shall be rendered *mobile*, or that fifty millions be paid them. The first of these requisitions has been assented to, on account of the impossibility of complying with the second. The desertion among the troops is incredible. It has already been found necessary to employ the burghers to oppose it, and to encamp. A whole company of grenadiers is under arrest, having absolutely refused to embark. The same is the case with the dragoons, who are in the worst disposition, and are closely watched.

Extract of a Letter from Bremen.

February 22.

According to all the information that we receive from the interior, there cannot be any doubt that orders have been given for the sailing of the fleet with the first fair wind; and, from the number of troops which it has on board, the design must be to effect some landing on the coast of Ireland. It appears, likewise, that the state of defence in which the line of the Yssel now is excites some uneasiness in the leaders, because a commission has just been appointed to inspect that frontier, and to settle what is wanting and what improvements may be made for its defence: the whole in consequence of the serious remonstrances of General Brune on the present neglected state of the defence of the country. He has, likewise, insisted that the Government should consent to increase the French troops in Holland by 25,000 men, on the same footing as those which are now there.

Secret Information respecting Captain Bosch.

According to accounts, Captain Bosch is to have the command of the fleet, which is now in great forwardness at the Texel, and the destination of which is generally supposed to be Ireland. That officer served in the navy under the former Government. He is said to be a prisoner of war on his parole (a fact which may be easily ascertained); and, having obtained leave some months ago to leave this country and to proceed to the Continent, he promised to return immediately on being recalled. According to authentic information, he has expressed himself (during his last stay in London) on the subject of Ireland in a very improper and suspicious manner, repeatedly declaring that, notwithstanding all the measures which Government was taking, that country would soon and infallibly be revolutionized. It is worthy of remark, that the aforesaid Captain Bosch is married to the daughter of a person of the name of Jameson, who lives at Cork, where he was commissary or agent of the Dutch trade and navy under the former Government, and where it is not impossible that the same person may

now fill, under the authority of the Batavian Government, similar functions to those with which the house of Evers and Vandyke, in London, is entrusted by that Government. Captain Bosch is supposed to have been in Ireland from the time he was taken or detained in 1795, till the time he went to Holland.

Memorial of Dennis O'Neill, of Enniscorthy, Colonel of the Insurgents during the late attempt for the recovery of liberty in Ireland, transmitted to the French Government through their minister at Paris.

Hamburg, January 30, 1799.

Memorialist, having been a long time member of the Society of United Irish, joined the Insurgents on their first taking up arms at Enniscorthy, where he had been appointed Colonel, was at the battles of New Ross, Newtownberry, Arklow, Corrughroo, and Vinegar Hill. Thence he accompanied Father Murphy[1] through the County of Kilkenny in various skir-

[1] This was Father John Murphy, one of the most sanguinary of the leaders of the rebellion in the County of Wexford. He was the son of a petty farmer at Tincurry, in the parish of Ferns; and, after receiving instruction at a hedge-school, seems to have pursued his studies at Seville, in Spain, where he received holy orders in 1785. He furnished a striking instance of the fruit to be derived from education for the priesthood in Jesuits' colleges.

He was one of a number of priests in the County of Wexford, who, in the month of April, 1798, signed for themselves and their parishes the following address to the Lord-Lieutenant, Earl Camden:—"We, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of ——, in the barony of ——, and County of Wexford, do think it our duty to come forward at this crisis of internal disturbance, thus publicly to declare our unalterable attachment to his Majesty King George the Third; and we do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner pledge ourselves to support with our lives, fortunes, and influence, his Majesty's happy Government established amongst us, determined as we are to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition. And we do likewise solemnly pledge ourselves, should any person attempt to disseminate amongst us seditious or levelling principles, all of which we hold in the utmost abhorrence, that we will

mishes, and in the three severe actions of New Bridge, Castle Corner, and on the borders of Wexford and Kilkenny, and afterwards at those of Carnew and Hacketstown; became acquainted with Holt in Wicklow, and engaged in the battles

use our utmost endeavours in bringing such miscreants to condign punishment. And we do further assure all our Protestant brethren of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination to co-operate with them in every means in our power for the support of this happy constitution, the suppression of rebellion, the welfare of his Majesty's Government, and in love and loyalty to his sacred person." This address was signed by John Murphy, curate, for himself and 757 of the inhabitants of Kilcormick, at the chapel of Boulavogue, on Monday, April 9th, and, according to his own journal, which he dropped in his retreat from Vinegar Hill, and which was picked up by Captain Hugh Moore of the 5th Dragoons on the 26th of the following month, he commenced the insurrection with fire, blood, and devastation.

The journal just mentioned is a very curious document:—

"Saturday Night, May 26, at 6 A.M., 1798.

"Began the Republick of Ireland in Boolavogue, in the County of Wexford, barony of Gorcy, and parish of Kilcormick, commanded by the Rev. Doctor Murphy, parish priest of the said parish, in the aforesaid parish, when all the Protestants of that parish were disarmed, and amongst the aforesaid a bigot named Thomas Bookey, who lost his life by his rashness.

"26. From thence came to Oulart, a country village adjoining, when the Republic attacked a minister's house for arms, and was denied of; laid siege immediately to it, and killed him and all his forces. The same day burned his house, and all the Orangemen's houses in that and all the adjoining parishes in that part of the country.

"The same day, a part of the army, to the amount of 104 of infantry and two troops of cavalry, attacked the Republick on Oulart Hill, when the military were repulsed with the loss of 112 men, and the Republick four killed, and then went to a hill called Corrigrua, where the Republick encamped that night, and from thence went to a town called Camolin, which was taken without resistance, and the same day took another town and *sate* of a bishop.* At three in the afternoon, the same day, they laid siege to Enniscorthy, where they were opposed by an army of 700 men; then they were forced to set both ends of the town on fire,

* Meaning Ferns.

of the Seven Churches, Devil's Glynn, and Glynn of Downs; from that he penetrated into Kildare, the Bog of Allen, and Counties of Dublin and Meath, with a body of the Insurgents, for the purpose of raising the people in those parts. Having

and then they took the town in the space of one hour, and then encamped on a hill near the town, called Vinegar Hill, where they remained that night.

"BRYAN BULGER."*

"Orangemen are men that formed alliance to kill and destroy all the Catholicks in the kingdom.

"GARET LACEY."

"28th. At three in the afternoon, which was Whitsun-Monday, they marched towards Wexford, and encamped on a hill that night called the Mountain."

The details of the atrocities committed by this man and his followers, as fully substantiated by legal evidence given in the Appendix to Sir Richard Musgrave's History, are many of them terribly affecting. Samuel Whealey, farmer, of Dranay, in the parish of Kilcormuck, related upon oath, at his examination in Dublin in the following September, that early on the morning of Whitsunday, John Murphy, after burning many Protestant houses in the neighbourhood, attacked that of the Rev. Mr. Burrowes, a Protestant clergyman, and that, soon after, he saw the house on fire; that Murphy proceeded in his destructive progress, burning the houses of Protestants, until he arrived at the hill of Oulart, where he encamped with a numerous body of rebels, and where he was joined by one Edward Roche, of Garrylough, attended also by a considerable body of rebels. Having been informed that they meant to burn his house in the night of Whitsunday, Whealey ordered his family to take out the furniture, which they did; and the same night, as soon as it grew dark, the rebels, headed by Murphy and Roche, went to his house and burned it. While it was burning, he lay in a ditch so close to the house, that he could scarcely endure the heat. The rebels carried off or destroyed the whole of his furniture except one bed-tick. Next day, a great body of them went in quest of examinant, in order to put him to death, but that he lay concealed in ditches, at Dranay. Two or three days after the burning of his house, his two daughters dug a hole in the bawn of the house, and, having laid some oak planks upon it, and covered them with

* Thus far is supposed to have been written by one Bulger, who accompanied Father Murphy as aide-de-camp.

arrived near the River Boyne, and finding their number amount to upwards of 40,000 men, they resolved on attacking Dublin. Some disagreement taking place among the leaders, the scheme was given up, when they were surprised by the

straw, and afterwards with the ashes of the burned building, he lay concealed in that hole for about one month, being supplied during that time with food by his wife and daughters, but in the night only, lest he should be discovered. During his concealment, the rebels came often, and examined the ruins of the house and the neighbouring fields and ditches in search of him, declaring, at the same time, that they would put him to death, and often saying, during their search, that he was a bloody Orangeman, though he never saw an Orangeman, nor knew what they meant by that appellation, except that he has been universally informed that they meant Protestant by the word Orangeman. He added that, one day, when they went to the ruins of his house, they knocked down his son, only nine years of age, with the but-end of a firelock, because he refused to tell them where his father was concealed, and at three different times, they placed the boy on his knees, declaring that they would shoot him, unless he revealed the place, but he persisted to the last in declaring his ignorance of it. During his confinement at Dranay, a great number of Protestants were shot or killed with pikes in the environs of his house, while flying from the merciless rage of the rebels. When the King's troops were victorious at Vinegar Hill, his daughters called to his assistance three of the Ancient Britons, who conveyed him to Oulart, on horseback, for he was unable to walk, having had a bad fever from his confinement, and he was afterwards conveyed by his two sons to Gorey, where Mr. Peppard gave him a small house, as his own at Dranay and all his property were destroyed.

The Rev. Mr. Burrowes, mentioned in the preceding examination, having arms and ammunition for eight or nine persons, resolved, with his household, to defend the place to the last extremity. The rebels, three or four hundred in number, meeting with a warm reception, set fire to a long range of outhouses adjoining to the dwelling-house, and communicated the flames to the latter. After a stout defence of half an hour, Murphy the priest promised protection to Mr. Burrowes if he would agree to surrender his arms. Leaving the house, where it was impossible to remain any longer on account of the fire, Mr. Burrowes went forth, delivered the arms, and was immediately barbarously attacked and murdered, while his son was extended, by a stab of a pike, apparently dead by the side of his father. The house, with furniture and everything of

Royalists, and totally defeated. A Proclamation, offering pardon to all the privates being at this time issued, the insurgents returned to their respective counties to take the benefit of the amnesty, or formed into small parties of banditti. Memorialist, being an officer, was proclaimed, and a reward held out for his apprehension, consequently obliged to keep concealed till an opportunity of quitting the kingdom occurred. This did not take place till the 2nd of December, at which time the people had become more united than ever. The Catholics had seen the imprudence of separating from the Protestants, which they looked on as the cause of all their disasters. A new choice of officers had been made, and none appointed but such as showed ability and courage during the insurrection. They have the most part of the arms left by General Humbert at Killala, and immense quantities of pikes; are better organized, and more eager in the glorious cause of freedom than they ever have been. There are many instances of persons at the time of the insurrection most violent aristocrats, who with difficulty saved their own lives, lost their properties, and had their friends and relations put to death by the patriots, that have now espoused the side of the United, and are ready on the first opportunity to support the banners of liberty; but this is owing to the infamous conduct of the Government, where everything is managed by jobbing, bribery, and intrigue. It was the general wish to make a second attempt, but to wait some time for assistance from the great nation, which they fondly hoped would be sent, notwithstanding the recent melancholy events. Such is the present situation of Ireland, and I pledge myself to the authenticity of the fact.

(Signed) DENNIS O'NEILL.

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value that it contained, was utterly destroyed, and his family reduced to the lowest indigence; and the son, being picked up alive, never recovered from the effects of that wound, of which he died in 1800. Seven of Mr. Burrowes's party were butchered on this occasion.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Secret. Whitehall, March 24, 1799.

My dear Lord—Among the persons apprehended at the Division, No. 2, of United Irishmen, is one Beedal M'Kenzie, or M'Kinley (the latter I believe to be the true name), a description of whose person I send enclosed. He is said to be a native of Belfast, and to have been concerned very actively in the Rebellion: he has been principally concerned in organizing the United Irishmen here, and is pushing them into some desperate undertaking.

The Duke of Portland desires me to request your Lordship to lay this information before the Lord-Lieutenant, and submit to his Excellency the propriety of sending over some one to identify M'Kinley, should it appear on inquiry that any person of that name and description has been concerned in the Rebellion.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Beedal M'Kenzie, 24 years of age, 5 feet 6 inches, black hair, inclining to curl, black eyes, crooked nose, florid complexion, black whiskers, high forehead, a coach-painter to Mr. Lucas, in the Edgeware Road, and lodges at No. 58, Davies Street, Berkeley Square.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 25, 1799.

My dear Lord—I beg leave to acknowledge your Lordship's private letter of the 19th instant, which I showed to Mr. Pitt on Friday, as soon as I had received it. He promised to write to your Lordship that very day, on the subject of the Loan, and on everything connected with it; so that I shall not fatigue your Lordship by repeating to you what he said to me.

I take no more notice of another subject of your Lordship's letter, viz., the Regency Bill, because you will before this have

received from the Duke of Portland the full opinion of the Cabinet upon that question and the mode of treating it in Parliament.

I believe that, before this time, the prisoners from Dublin will have been safely conducted to Fort George. No particular instructions either as to the expense of their maintenance, or the mode of confining them, have as yet been transmitted to the Governor; but it is wished that your Lordship would have the goodness to communicate to me, for the Duke of Portland's information, the regulations under which they were confined in Dublin, and particularly the allowance they received from Government, according to their respective situations and conditions in life, or that which was paid on their account to the gaoler.

Should any more prisoners be sent to Scotland, have the goodness to take care that the Duke of Portland be informed of their names in time to send warrants down to meet them at the port where they shall be disembarked in Scotland. Some apprehension is entertained lest a habeas corpus should be moved for the two persons who have been sent over, in the place of Deane Swift and John Cormick, before their arrival at Fort George. I think, however, this can never happen unless the Messengers should refuse to take charge of them as not being named in their original warrant, which I scarcely conceive probable. The warrant for their detention at Fort George will probably arrive in time. It is the present intention that a Bill should be brought into Parliament immediately after the recess, confirming what has been done, and authorizing the detention of these gentlemen and of others whom you may send over. At any other moment, a Bill of this kind might have and perhaps ought to have met with opposition; but I rather think that there will be an unwillingness on the part of Opposition to bring the name of Arthur O'Connor into question.

All the correspondence relating to the negotiation with the

State prisoners has been put together, and the whole has been well read and studied by Mr. Pitt, who will probably take this occasion of saying something on the infamous charges that have been brought against the Irish Government of having broken their faith, &c., which O'Connor has taken great pains to circulate among his friends here, and which, for the sake of better intentioned persons, it may be as well to refute openly once for all.

I am anxious to know what will be the result of the Prussian mission to Dublin. I have been obliged to send an interpreter with the officer, and he can neither speak French nor English.

Believe me, ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, March 26, 1799.

My dear Lord—I send your Lordship enclosed a copy of the letter from Doyle, that was found under the table at the Division of United Irishmen, No. 2. I should be curious to know whether the Address to the Irish Nation, found at the same place and printed in the Report of the Secret Committee, was known in Ireland, and in general circulation there. It is stated to have been brought over by Doyle.

Enclosed I send your Lordship a list of names found on the table, supposed to be the names of the Secretaries of the Divisions. These Divisions had a general Committee composed of the Secretary and Treasurer of each Division, and from this Committee three persons were chosen to treat with Doyle, examine the proposals he brought over, and report them to the Committee, without mentioning any names. Of these three two are already in custody, and, the third being aware that there was a warrant out against him, has come privately forward and made a full avowal of all that he knew, promising his services in future.

It appears, as well from the testimony of this man as from a cipher, of the key to which we are in possession, that Doyle's instructions were given to him by one Henry Beard, concerning whom I have already written to your Lordship. It is further stated that Beard was only the instrument, and that he received them from the Directory at Dublin, with whom it was expressly stated by Doyle that the State prisoners communicated.

The proposals brought over by Doyle were that the United Irishmen here should rise, even with the certainty of being defeated, the moment the French should land in Ireland; and that individuals of the Society should be trained to the purpose of assassination; so that, if they should not be strong enough to effect a rising, the life of the King or Mr. Pitt should be taken at the moment when such an event might produce the greatest mischief and confusion.

I remain, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Letter from Thomas Doyle to Division No. 2 of United Irishmen, taken at the Royal Oak, March 10, 1799.

To No. 2.

I have to lament the malignant and malicious propagations of some of my countrymen, whom I cannot conceive from what motive or reason they should exert themselves in so mysterious a manner to defame my character among *men*, whose principles and society I have preferred since my introduction among them. At the same time, they are confident of the virtue of my principles, in consequence of their being put to the test by thirteen weeks' imprisonment on a charge of "treasonable practices." If, after this and the present persecutions, I am to be treated with cool indifference and neglect, it is very hard: the reflection of which to me is more severe than the idea of the punishment in the Bastile. However, I will once more submit to the enlightened and generous understanding of my

countrymen whether they think me culpable in those little insidious reports propagated probably by envy, and caution you not to let an improper idea bolt into your minds respecting my attachment to you. I must observe, the last time I was with you, it seemed to me as if the whole of you was completely incensed against me, every one starting up to accuse, and for what?—why, truly, that such a person said you said so and so. But I will not occupy your time with these vague arguments; your attention at present should, and I hope will be directed to a greater object, that is the subject of *organization*, which occupies Europe. I am conscious I have done my duty by you, and am ready to render you any general service my slender abilities are capable of. I expect you will give orders to your Representatives to vote me the trifling sum you allow persons that stands in the predicament I do at present. Your compliance or noncompliance of this last request will be accepted of, worthy cits, by your sincere and devoted, &c.

Copy of a Paper found on Sunday, March 10, *at Division No.* 2 *of "United Irishmen, held at the Royal Oak, Red Lion Passage.*

1. Mooney	18. Delap	35. M'Grath	52. Banfield
2. Whelan	19. Brown	36. Burk	53. Cain
3. Corcoran	20. Calahan	37. Healey	54. Keating
4. Canavan	21. Murphy	38. Grifith	55. G. Whitney
5. Name effaced	22. Kennedy	39. Sullivan	56. M'Kinsey
6. Nowlan	23. Cronan	40. M'Carter	57. Egan
7. Bradshaw	24. M'Namara	41. White	58. Christian
8. Kelly	25. Sweeny	42. Carey	59. Higgins
9. Cliford	26. Hammond	43. Kelly	60. Riordan
10. *Corcoran*	27. Smallman	44. Correy	61. Kennedy
11. Buller	28. Coleman	45. Moore	62. Grey
12. Corregan	29. Smith	46. Kelley	63. Lyon
13. Lynch	30. Anderson	47. Harrinton	64. Boyle
14. Walker	31. Baif	48. Neagle	65. Dea
15. Doudle	32. Thomas	49. O'Shaughnessy	66. Tunnigen
16. Price	33. Franklin	50. Gilbert	67. Bury
17. M'Ivers	34. Leary	51. James	68. Boylen

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, March 27, 1799.

My Lord—Feeling the advantage of your Grace's suggestion, if possible by an adjournment to avoid any further discussion, which might disturb the present temper of Parliament, I have made every exertion to get the business pushed forward as expeditiously as possible. Notwithstanding that Parliament has continued sitting during the holidays, the Bills will not have passed the Commons sooner than the 5th or 6th of April; they cannot be returned from the Lords (such of them as are Money Bills) before the 10th, which is the day named for taking the Regency Bill into consideration: under these circumstances, we cannot with any grace avoid the discussion of the measure. I do not observe much disposition to warmth amongst our opponents, and am induced to believe that the Speaker, if he does speak, will not assume a very lofty tone.

As far as I have yet been informed of the proceedings at the several assizes, they have been much less unfavourable on the question of Union than we had any right to expect. The question has been stirred in but few counties. The grand juries of Meath and Cavan are the only two that have come to resolutions against the measure. In Tipperary, which is a leading county, from its extent, the party favourable to the measure has prevailed. I have the honour to enclose, for your Grace's information, Lord Donoughmore's[1] letter on this subject. Upon the whole, I consider the general silence of the grand juries as a very favourable indication. It was not thought prudent to urge our friends in the several counties to a trial of their strength on the present occasion. Our arrangements may be better prepared before the autumn Circuit;

[1] Richard Hely, first Baron Donoughmore: in 1797 he had been created Viscount Suirdale. He was a Lieutenant-General of the army, Governor of Tipperary, and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Irish Court of Exchequer.

and I do not despair of operating most powerfully on the public mind in the mean time, by the diligent circulation of the many able arguments which the debates on your side of the water have furnished us with. Arrangements have been made for the most extensive and general distribution of these valuable productions, and I am happy to learn that they are read with avidity even in Dublin.

I am happy to inform your Grace (perhaps it is a tolerable indication on which side the strength is likely ultimately to lie) that Lord Ely has declared positively for the Union. The alteration intended in the plan for the representation has had its weight, no doubt, with his Lordship. I cannot but consider this determination, taken at the present moment, as a very favourable omen, and extremely important, notwithstanding it is clogged with some awkwardness. He has brought into Parliament a Mr. Shaw and Mr. Luttrell. Lord Ely says that neither shall vote against us, and promises, if possible, to get rid of Mr. Shaw. I should hope the Lord-Lieutenant might succeed in persuading Lord Carhampton that his son had not sufficiently considered the question: at present, his Lordship's efficient force is reduced to six.

I should submit to your Grace, whether it might not be advantageous that Lord Downshire should be early apprised of the scheme of representation at present in the contemplation of Ministers. It might, perhaps, tend to reconcile him. His declaration in favour of the measure would have the most powerful influence. I also beg leave to suggest that Lord Donegal is an object of considerable importance. He is as yet unpledged, but, as I am informed, rather adverse. His friends in Parliament, during his father's life-time, voted against us. Lord Leitrim is not well satisfied with the part his son took in his absence, and well disposed to avail himself of a change of circumstances, to prevail on his friends to alter their conduct.

Without troubling your Grace at present with further details, I shall merely add that I by no means despair of the measure being accomplished, even without having recourse to a dissolution.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, March 28, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that we have secured M. Jägerhorn, who was coming over here on a mission similar to that which he undertook some two years since, when he met Lord Edward Fitzgerald in London. As soon as he shall have been examined, I will take care to inform your Lordship of anything material that may be collected from him.

Believe me ever, &c.,

W. WICKHAM.

Henry Alexander to Lord Castlereagh.

March 28, 1799.

My dear Lord—The report of the English Secret Committee has produced here a great shock. It has created, however, in my mind, an apprehension that the popular panic will be succeeded by popular fury, and that the English mob will adopt a kind of persecution against the Irish in England, and unpleasant reactions in Ireland may flow to augment the current of national pride and vulgar animosities. Here everything is more prosperous than could be expected by the most sanguine mind. Even this last week, cloth and yarn have risen very considerably; and I really have not found a single man, in the day or two I have been here, who objects to a Union on any other principle than thinking themselves so well off, that their situation is not improvable by any Legislature, however composed.

I send up to Knox various parcels of American newspapers, for the purpose of making extracts.

Mr. Robert Moore, of Londonderry, commenced a preacher of treason in America, at the Roman Catholic Chapel, in connection with Reynolds. On being interrupted by some of the Americans, they produced pistols which were wrenched from them, and they were well thrashed and thrown into gaol, probably consigned to hard labour for life.

All letters from America tend to show their Anti-Gallican principles. The hatred of the American captains to that nation is extreme, and the Scriptural solemnity of their expression gives a quaintness, that catches the attention of our people. Such passengers as have returned are full of stories of French plunder, and I believe they extenuate nothing.

One torn American paper I enclose to you for Knox, to communicate instantly to the public. I will have it inserted in the next Londonderry papers.

Our Grand Jury have 18 Unionists to 5 Anti-Unionists, and to-morrow I shall be able to decide how far they will speak out.

Yours most sincerely,

HENRY ALEXANDER.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt.

Dublin Castle, March 29, 1799.

My dear Sir—I am sorry it was not in my power to communicate with you earlier, and more in detail on the money business of this country; but Mr. Corry was not enabled before the 24th of this month to ascertain from the moneyed men, with any precision, what Loan might be obtained in this market. The moment I received his suggestions, I lost no time in transmitting them through Mr. Rose for your consideration, with such hasty observations as I was enabled to add before the departure of the mail. I am induced again to trouble you on this subject, not so much from feeling that I

can add anything material, in point of information, to what has been stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but from an anxiety that you should distinctly understand why the demands from hence are so much beyond what you had been taught to expect by Sir John Parnell.

In the provision for 1798, Sir John reckoned upon the Quit Rents for producing a million, and relied upon their being either sold within the year, or advanced upon by the Bank, in both which expectations he was completely disappointed. Relying upon this resource, his application to you for a loan was the more moderate; but the difficulty did not fail the less to occur before the end of the year, and, in part, to fall upon Great Britain. The million was required for the service of the year, and was obtained, one half by an anticipation of the funds intended by you as a provision for the current year; the other half by an advance from the Bank on last year's Vote of Credit, repayment of which was limited to six months from December last; so that, in the last year, the money advanced by England for the service of this country was, in fact, two millions and a half.

I believe it was in December last Sir John Parnell stated to you that the Irish Government would require only two millions from Great Britain for the ensuing year, by which I conclude he meant that that sum would be sufficient to carry on the public service till the 25th of March, 1800, the usual period to which our Supplies are voted. From the amount of the above sum, I am inclined to think his calculation was formed upon a view of the usual establishment merely, and that he did not advert either to the deficiency of a million in his means for the former year, or to the extraordinary charge of another million for the British Militia and Loyalists; if he had, he must have stated his wants at double the amount, £500,000 has been already remitted to Ireland, and three millions and a half are stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be further requisite in aid of the loan of two mil-

lions to be raised in this kingdom. This provision, among other charges, goes to cover repayments to be made to the Bank, in the course of the year, to the amount of £700,000.

The Bank, upon the condition stated in their correspondence with Mr. Pelham, (which I left with you when in London) are willing to advance a million to Government. Should their proposal meet with your approbation, our demands upon you would be reduced to two millions and a half. Should their application be deemed objectionable, we may possibly prevail on them to continue to us what is now outstanding; but I cannot indulge much expectation of a further advance. In truth, had the expenditure of last year been adequately provided for by loan, the only new demand which Mr. Corry would have called on you to assist him in providing for, would have been for the British Militia and Loyalists. There is a general increase upon all the usual Military Estimates to the amount of £700,000; but this is covered by the Irish Loan being increased in its amount from £1,300,000 to £2,000,000.

Having mentioned the British Militia and Loyalists, I shall shortly trouble you with an explanation of the nature and extent of those heads of expence.

It is difficult for us precisely to estimate the charge for the British troops serving in Ireland. Their numbers must be fluctuating, and their stay uncertain. The present force, including the Guards and the regiments of the Line (the latter, though lately placed on this establishment, being an addition to the estimate as voted and provided for by Parliament) amounts to 15,000 men. The estimate for the year, made upon the amount of their establishments as complete, amounts to £666,000, as the regiments are by no means full. I conceive the above sum sufficient to cover the five quarters from the 25th of December, including the incidental expence connected with that force, in addition to the sum to be repaid to Great Britain.

The number of the Loyalists whose claims have been given

in is above 3,500; their amount about £600,000. The Commission appointed by the Bill of last year has been found very inadequate to the investigation of these claims within any reasonable time. It is proposed, therefore, to make such changes in it as may complete the inquiry in the course of the year. It is intended that a reduction on each claim, proportioned to the amount, should ultimately be made, as was done in the case of the American Loyalists, and that such proportion of the damage should fall upon the county in which it was sustained, as can be borne by the inhabitants without serious inconvenience; the rest to be paid by the State.

As these proportions cannot be adjusted till the inquiry is completed, and as the claimants are in general in the utmost distress, it is proposed to make a partial liquidation of the claims as speedily as they are examined and certified by the Commissioners; the claimants for sums under £500 to receive one-third, which will leave an ample latitude for such reduction as may be finally determined on. To effect this, with some further demands on account of damage done by our own army when in the field, will probably require, in the course of the year, from £250,000 to £300,000, issuable in proportion as the claims are disposed of.

You would be confined to the Militia and Loyalists relying upon your ability, without any previously assured provision to afford us relief, in the event of rebellion or invasion making it necessary for the army to take the field, and for a greater proportion than one eighth of the Yeomanry, the number now estimated and provided for and actually serving, to be placed on permanent duty.

I trust you will be able, from the above statement, to measure the extent of our wants, and the probable means we have of providing for them. Whatever relief you think fit to give us, you may rely on our best endeavours to make it answer, as far as circumstances will permit, for carrying on the public service.

The Right Hon. G. Rose to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Old Palace Yard, Sunday, March 31, 1799.

My dear Lord—I lost no time this morning, after the receipt of your letter, in communicating it, and the enclosure from Mr. Corry, to Mr. Pitt; he will either write himself on Tuesday, or authorize me to do so. In the mean time, I have no hesitation in promising to your Lordship that I am sure the inclination of his opinion is that it would be impossible for him to propose a *loan* here for *all* the money Ireland wants, when we are raising so very large a proportion of the supply here by a direct tax on income. Four millions is as much as we shall permanently fund in this country; and I am persuaded that it would not be possible to reconcile a loan to that extent for the service of Ireland to our House of Commons, the Bank, or the moneyed men, unless it could be shown satisfactorily that the money can be had in no other way. Your only resource would be a similar measure with ours. I send you, therefore, our Act of this Session for the Income Tax, and on Tuesday (when I come to town) I will send you the explanatory one: you will find all the machinery in the first. You will only have to substitute persons for our Commissioners of the Land Tax; it will be to be considered whether they should be named in the Act, or be appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant.

I write this in great haste: it may, however, be useful to give your Lordship, as well as the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an opportunity of considering the whole subject before you hear from Mr. Pitt.

I find that the Speaker persists in his declarations that the linen manufacture of Ireland has flourished greatly from the measures of the Parliament of Ireland since 1779—can he show that this is owing to an export to any country but Great Britain? Her exports to all the rest of the world are nearly the same; I think, then, even his ingenuity cannot show how that has been aided by the Irish Legislature.

I am, &c., GEORGE ROSE.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, April 6, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have received your Lordship's letter of the 1st instant, and ask a thousand pardons for having troubled your Lordship unnecessarily on the subject of the State prisoners. The Duke of Portland, as well as myself, having received frequent applications for instructions how these gentlemen were to be treated and confined at Fort George, and having one of the letters on that subject open before me, I wrote a few lines to your Lordship, to ask for advice and explanation, quite forgetting that I had already written to Mr. Cooke, from whom I have since received a very full and satisfactory answer.

The prisoners will be perfectly safe at Fort George, and I trust that means will be taken to prevent them from having any improper communication either with each other or with any persons out of the prison. I shall be able to transmit your Lordship, in a very few days, the instructions that will be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor for the regulation of his conduct.

As I am very much hurried to-day, and as the Duke of Portland is writing as well to your Lordship as to the Lord-Lieutenant, I shall beg leave to defer answering the other parts of your Lordship's letter, as well as the other letters I have received at the same time, till Monday.

I am ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Duke Street, April 7, 1799. 10 P.M.

My dear Lord—I have this instant received the enclosed letter for your Lordship from Mr. Pitt, with directions to send it off immediately by a messenger.

I take this opportunity with pleasure of informing your Lordship that the Hamburg mail, arrived to-day, brings a full confirmation of the Archduke's success, as far as the 22nd. There are letters of that date from Lindau, Ulm, and Mem-

mingen, which give some details, and speak of Jourdan having been in great danger, and of Lefevre being severely wounded. There are two other facts mentioned, which seem to leave no doubt of the French having retreated to a considerable distance, and of the Austrians themselves having the best hopes of further success—I mean, the Austrian magazines and the heavy baggage of the army being ordered to advance from Ulm and Memmingen to Phalendorf, and General Hotze having marched from Feldkirch to join the Archduke.

There is no distinct account of what had passed on General Hotze's flank and rear later than the 17th, on which day General Laudohn had made a French general and six hundred men lay down their arms in the Engadine: but it is certain that the same General had arrived at Feldkirch on the 21st, from which it is fairly to be presumed that he had cleared all the country behind him. General Hotze marched from Feldkirch the same day, and entered Lindau the 22nd, meaning to push further on that night with ten thousand infantry.

There are letters from Strasburg of the 25th, and from Rastadt and Frankfort of the 27th, all of which speak of the French as being much discouraged. Had the French recovered the check of the 23rd, as has been reported, it surely must have been known on the 27th at Rastadt. General Suworoff was at Vienne on the 25th.

I send your Lordship enclosed a copy of the examination of M. Jägerhorn, and of the letters found upon him, which the Duke of Portland will thank your Lordship to communicate to the Lord-Lieutenant.

I am ever, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Holwood, Sunday, April 7, 1799.

My dear Lord—After fully considering the communications respecting the sum wanting for Ireland, and particularly your last letter of the 29th, I wish to state to you all that occurs to

me on the subject (meaning, when I have done so, to adopt whatever line Lord Cornwallis may judge, under all the circumstances, to be most advisable). I need not dwell on the evident objection which must arise here to creating any large additional capital of permanent debt, transferable in our market, on account of Ireland, when the country is making such unusual exertions to avoid any accumulation of debt on our own account. The interest of the Irish loan will indeed bring no direct charge on this country, but the effect on the Funds and on the state of credit, from the increase of Stock, is the same as if it were a loan borrowed for ourselves. It does not, therefore, seem reasonable that Ireland should resort to us for such assistance, at least till the same exertions have been made there for raising a part of the supplies within the year, which have been successfully adopted here. I should not think it fair, in the present year, to let this objection weigh (though strictly applicable in its principle) against a loan to the amount originally intended of two millions: but it seems impossible to overlook it when it is proposed to augment the loan to four or even to three millions. The first sum would produce a capital of near eight and the second of near six millions, which would probably not be extinguished by the Sinking Fund in less than forty years.

We have imposed a tax of 10 per cent. upon all Income, to avoid the inconvenience, both present and future, which would arise from any such addition of debt. The same motives which operate upon us seem to apply at least as forcibly to the case of Ireland. The ultimate saving by such a system will be in proportion. Here a difficulty was felt in raising the whole sum wanted by loan; in Ireland it is impossible. The necessity for general exertion is there, if possible, stronger than even here, and the sources of income arising from land (which must bear a large proportion of the tax) are there untouched, while taxes in general are lower. Besides these considerations, which, in fair argument, seem to me conclusive, I confess that, on reflecting on the subject, I also feel that great advantage would

arise from adopting the measure I propose in the present year, instead of leaving it to be brought forward in another, as a consequence of the Union: it is evident that, when that event takes place, the tax on Income must, if the war continues, be extended to Ireland.

It must, I think, equally be so extended in another year, if the Union should not take place; but, as I trust there is now every reason to look forward to its accomplishment next Session, it seems very desirable that this question should be previously discussed on its own grounds. I should, therefore, feel an earnest wish that, if possible, this tax should be imposed before your Session concludes. I have but very imperfect means of guessing at its probable produce; but, on a rough comparison of the different articles of the estimate framed here, I think it could hardly be supposed to yield less than a million, or perhaps a million and a half. At all events, if the measure was fairly tried, we could have no difficulty in supplying what might be further wanting, or in making the necessary advances till the produce could be received. If the principle is adopted, little delay, I conceive, could arise in framing the Bill, which, in most part, would be a transcript from ours. The regulations for settling the proportion of the tax, the description of Income and mode of valuing it, the exceptions and abatements, and the mode of collection and payment, seem all equally applicable to Ireland. The new part would chiefly consist in the appointment of commissioners, surveyors, assessors, &c., which probably are descriptions unknown in Ireland, or, at least, not on the same footing as here. But this point, I imagine, you would find no great difficulty in arranging. If, however, this subject should appear to you in a different view; and if, either from the importance of ending the Session without any delay, or from the state of political parties, Lord Cornwallis should judge the attempt too hazardous, or attended with too material inconvenience, I shall be ready to go as far as possible in relieving you from any embarrassment.

In that case, I should hope the demand on us might still be confined to three millions in the whole (including the half million already anticipated), and that the further sum wanting may be obtained from the Bank. I should also wish that some separate provision might be made for the speedy redemption of the capital created by the additional million, which perhaps might be effected by mortgaging to us the quit-rents, which were before intended to have been sold, and which might, in that case, be reserved till circumstances are more favourable to their sale. Above all, I should hope that, on this supposition, it would be distinctly and generally understood that the loan is likely to be furnished by this country only in consequence of the pressing circumstances of the present moment; but that such an assistance can, in no case, be expected in another year, until Ireland has made exertions equal to those made here for raising as much of the Supplies as possible within the year. I need not say that it will be, in every view, much more satisfactory if you can adopt the suggestion in the former part of this letter, and Lord Cornwallis will, I am sure, give it a full and impartial consideration. If he thinks the objections to it too strong, I shall cheerfully acquiesce in the other alternative.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Sincerely and faithfully yours,
W. PITT.

Copy of a Letter from General Valence to M. Jägerhorn, referred to in the examination of the latter.

J'ai retrouvé votre ami, mon cher voisin. J'ai bien fait vôtre commission, et il part pour vous joindre. Je lui ai remis ce dont il a besoin, et malgré ce qu'il pourra vous dire, et ce qu'il falloit qu'il vous dise, *cela me regarde.*

Vôtre femme se porte bien: elle a soutenue avec courage la mort de son beau-frère. Elle est tourmentée à cause de ses gens, mais tout cela ne fera rien, et ils reprendront leur ouvrage

à l'ordinaire. Les domestiques de ce pays-ci sont tels qu'on n'en vit de pareils nulle part.

J'espére par le premier courier vous marquer la conclusion finale de vôtre affaire. J'ai vu notre vieux ami. J'acquitterai vos ordres dès que j'aurai moi-même l'argent nécessaire; il m'a gagné l'autre jour assez d'argent au whist pour attendre patiemment. M. Padenheim me paroît être et vôtre ami et un excellent homme. J'espére qu'il reviendra avec vous et que je pourrai trouver l'occasion de lui être de quelque utilité. Je vous envois un peu de l'écriture de M. Th——. Vous pourriez la montrer à mon ami, et cela vous servira pour vos questions.

Adieu, mon bon et cher voisin. Portez-vous bien, réussites au gré de vos désirs, et que vôtre voyage à Londres comble tous vos vœux! Il fait le plus beau temps du monde. J'espére que ni le vent ni la maladie ne contrarieront vôtre voyage. Conservez-moi votre amitié.

Le 18. T. J.

Je remets à M. Padenheim la petite boête avec un des petits bijoux.

General Valence to M. Jägerhorn.

J'ai un voyage à faire, mon cher ami, qui rend très désirable pour moi d'avoir le plaisir de vous revoir. J'ai reçu votre dernière et bien aimable lettre, et je désire fort le succès de votre machine, et fort aussi d'apprendre vôtre rétour. J'ai entendu dire que votre ami d'Amérique étoit venu à Londres. Est-ce vrai? Revenez, mon cher Jägerhorn, rejoindre des gens qui s'occupent de vous avec le plus tendre intérêt, et une femme qui trouve sa situation pénible. Vous sentirez si je pars pour la Suisse combien il seroit affligeant de ne vous avoir pas vu auparavant. Le moment des près est arrivé; celui de faucher les bleds n'est pas éloigné: c'est à vous à juger vos intérêts. Mon amitié ne peut que vous offrir ses vœux.

F. A.

Mes complimens à vôtre cousin, de qui j'ai reçu une lettre à

son arrivée en Angleterre, et à qui je ne réponds pas par économie.

Le 23.

Declaration of M. Jägerhorn.

A la réponse [de la question] qui m'est fait de ce que j'avois entrepris pendant ma dernier séjour en Angleterre:

Le but de mon voyage étoit de faire travailler une modèle méchanique. Avec celui-ci, mes connoissances dans les environs d'Hambourg, et des amis et parents de Lord Fitzgerald, dont j'avois fait la connoissance à Hambourg, m'avaient chargé de m'aboucher avec le même Lord Fitzgerald, pour lui conjurer de ne point se mêler avec les affaires des insurgens d'Irlande. Il n'étoit point présent. Je lui fis avertir que j'avois à lui parler. Il est effectivement arrivé à Londres. Je l'avois parlé sur cette affaire. Il m'avoit assuré que malgré la grande intérêt qu'il prenoit dans tout ce qui touchait sa patrie, il n'y était pour rien. Je l'avois laissé là, et je suis parti en rendant compte à ses amis à mon retour. Depuis ce tems, je n'ai plus eu aucune connoissance ni la moindre rélation avec tous ces affaires, ayant vécu tranquillement à ma campagne appellée Reinbeck, deux lieues d'Hambourg, dans le pays de Holstein.

Au reste, je suis prèt de répondre à tous les questions dans cette affaire, ou dans tous les autres qui me régardent specielement, et de donner des preuves non équivoques de la véritable véneration et de l'attachement que j'ai pour la cause dont le Gouvernement Anglois défend avec tant de vigueur et de gloire, et lesquelles sentimens mêmes m'ont decidé de venir m'établir dans ce pays.

F. A. JÄGERHORN SPURILA.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Edward Fitzgerald referred to in M. Jägerhorn's examination.

Monsieur—Je vous remercie bien de vôtre lettre et de vôtre souvenir des agréables moments que nous avons passé avec nos

amis de Silh. J'étois sur le point de partir pour Londres pour y conduire une de mes sœurs, et je compte certainement vous voir: ainsi attendez moi. Monsieur Padenheim, qui part ce soir, vous remettra cette lettre. Je compte partir demain au soir.

Votre ami avec bien du respect,

E. F.

Examination of M. Jägerhorn.

[*Question.*] De la part de qui reçutes-vous la commission de parler à Lord Fitzgerald en Angleterre?—[*Réponse.*] Du Général Valence.

A quel époque?—Il y a deux ans au mois d'Avril.

Qu'elles étoient les instructions précises que vous donna le Général Valence?—De dire a Lord E. Fitzgerald qu'il ne se mêlat point des affaires des insurges en Irlande.

Avez-vous connu Lord E. Fitzgerald avant votre arrivée en Angleterre en 1797?—Oui, je l'ai connu à Hambourg en 1796, par Mr. Valence, qui étoit mon voisin à la campagne.

L'avez-vous vu chez le Ministre Reinhardt?—Non, jamais. Je ne connoissois pas le Ministre Reinhardt à cet époque, et je ne savois pas même à cet époque qu'ils avoient des relations ensemble. *Mais je l'ai su depuis.*

Comment avez-vous su depuis qu'ils eurent des relations ensemble?—Je l'ai su depuis par M. Valence, qui s'est ouvert avec moi à ce sujet.

M. Valence a donc su que Lord E. Fitzgerald a eu des relations avec le Ministre Reinhardt, au sujet des affaires d'Irlande?—Oui, car il m'en a parlé.

M. Valence vous a-t-il donné d'adresse en Angleterre?—Aucune, excepté celle de Lord E. Fitzgerald en Irlande.

N'aviez-vous point l'adresse de quelques negocians à Londres?—Oui; pour Messrs. Thelusson et Goldsmid.

Dans quelle maison avez-vous rencontré Lord E. Fitzgerald?—Dans la maison où je demeurois dans les Minories: je ne

me rappelle pas du numero de la maison, mais elle est tenue par une femme nominée (à ce que je crois), Brown, vers le milieu de la rue, à main droite en descendant vers la rivière.

Qui vous a trouvé cette maison?—Monsieur Nisser, le Chapelain du Ministre de Suède.

Qui a conduit Lord E. Fitzgerald chez vous?—Personne. Je lui avois donné mon adresse.

De quelle manière lui avez-vous communiqué vôtre adresse? —J'ai envoyé un de mes amis (un Suédois qui a fait le voyage avec moi de Yarmouth à Londres) à Dublin.

Comment appelez-vous cet ami?—M. Padenheim. Il étoit venu ici pour ses affaires, ayant servi dans la Compagnie de Sierra Leone.

Lui avez-vous donné une commission verbale?—Non: seulement une lettre cachetée de manière qu'il ignoroit ce dont il étoit question.

Vous apporta-t-il une réponse écrite?—Non: seulement une réponse verbale c. a. d. que Lord E. F. devoit conduire sa sœur dans une 15 de jours et qu'alors il viendroit me voir.

Ne fûtes-vous pas chargé de remettre à Lord F. une lettre de la part de quelqu'un?—Non, pas à Milord mais à Miladi de la part de Mademoiselle Mathesson. Cette lettre m'a été remise ouverte; elle ne contenoit que des souhaits pour sa santé et pour la voir tranquille.

Qu' avez-vous dit à Lord F. dans la lettre que vous lui avez écrite?—J'ai dit que j'étois venu dans ce pays-ci, et que je serais bien aise de le revoir et de renouveller sa connaissance, et que même j'avois des choses à lui communiquer de la part de ses amis à Hambourg.

Lord E. F. est-il venu vous voir plusieurs fois?—Non; rien qu'une seule fois.

Le matin ou le soir?—Le matin vers les 11 heures.

Combien de tems a-t-il passé chez vous?—Jusqu'à trois à quatre heures après midi.

A cet entretien Lord F. vous parut-il disposé de suivre vos

conseils?—Oui; il parut céder à mes conseils à plus forte raison qu'il m'a parlé des affaires des insurgens comme presque désespérées.

Vous a-t-il parlé dans ce tems d'un nommé M'Kensie?—Non.

Ou d'un nommé Smith?—Non.

De qu'elle manière vous a-t-il parlé des affaires des insurgens comme étant désespérées?—Il dit qu'ils n'avoient ni armes, ni munitions, ni même d'argent, ni aucune éspérance de secours étranger, et que de 100,000 Irlandais Unis il n'y avait que 6,000 d'armés.

Vous nomma-t-il aucun de ses amis parmi les Irlandois Unis?—Non; il parla beaucoup de l'éxpedition de Hoche, me disant que, si ce général fût venu dans le Nord, il y auroit eu plus de probabilité d'un soulèvement.

Connoissez-vous Monsieur Dahlman, officier Suedois?—Oui.

Depuis quand le connoissez-vous?—Depuis 1792, à quel époque je l'ai connu à Paris. Je l'ai vû pour la dernière fois en partant d'Hambourg.

A-t-il été au service de France?—Non, jamais.

Qui est le M. Ferrier dont je trouve l'adresse dans vôtre portefeuille?—C'est le nom qu'a pris le Général Valence.

La lettre que je trouve dans vôtre portefeuille, datée le 23, qui commence avec ces mots, "J'ai un voyage à faire," et finit, "Mon amitié ne peut que vous offrir ses vœux," et signé F. A., avec un post-scriptum qui finit par le mot "économie," par qui est-elle écrite?—Par le Général Valence, et, comme je crois, pendant mon séjour en Angleterre.

De qui veut-on parler par la personnage designée comme "votre ami d'Amérique?—Probablement, de Lord E. Fitzgerald.

De qui veut-on parler sous le nom de "vôtre cousin?"—Apparemment de Monsieur Padenheim.

Comment avez-vous reçu cette lettre?—Je crois, par la poste.

Comment les gens de la poste savoient-ils où trouver votre

adresse, tû qu'elle n'est pas marquée sur la lettre? — Probablement, elle m'est parvenue sous l'enveloppe de quelqu'un d'autre, je ne rappelle pas de qui.

Aviez-vous un chiffre quelqu'un, ou des mots convenus pour exprimer certaines choses avec Lord E. F.? — Non, rien de semblable.

De la part de qui est la lettre trouvée dans vôtre portefeuille adressée "A M. Jägerhorn Spurila," sans date, et signée "vôtre ami avec bien du respect, E. F.?" — Elle est de Lord E. F.

Vous étiez donc trompé lorsque vous m'aviez dit que M. Padenheim vous avoit apporté une réponse verbale et non écrite?—Oui, je l'avois oublié.

Que veut dire le mot "Silh" dans cette lettre?—C'est la terre de M. Valence, où j'ai fait connoissance avec Lord E. F.

Avez-vous connu M. Padenheim avant que de partir d'Hambourg, en Avril 1797? — Oui, je l'ai connu avant: il a même resté quelques jours chez moi à la campagne.

Lui avez-vous communiqué le projet de vôtre voyage?—Oui, bien le projet, mais non pas l'objet.

Lui avez-vous donné un rendezvous à Londres?—Oui, chez le Ministre Suedois.

Savez-vous si le voyage de Monsieur Padenheim a été payé par quelqu'un, et par qui? — Je sais que Monsieur Valence lui a donné dix guinées pour venir en Angleterre. Un moment avant son départ, je l'ai rencontré, et je lui ai proposé de payer le prix de son voyage pourvu-qu'il vint avec moi. Comme il ne pouvoit pas m'accompagner, M. Valence a payé le prix de son voyage.

Connoissez-vous la lettre tirée de vôtre portefeuille, et adressée "A M. de Jägerhorn Spurila, à Londres?"—Oui, elle est de M. de Valence.

Que veut dire M. Valence par l'expression suivante qui s'y trouve, "Malgré?"—Je n'en puis pas en rendre compte. Mais

cela doit nécessairement regarder l'argent que M. Valence a remis à M. Padenheim.

C'est donc de M. Padenheim qu'il veut parler, sous le nom de vôtre ami?—Oui, il paroît.

Qui est la personne designée dans la lettre de M. Valence sous le nom de M. Th——?—Je ne la connois pas.

Fûtes-vous porteur d'une lettre ou d'un papier quelconque écrite en encre blanche, de la part de M. Valence, ou de qui que ce soit, lorsque vous êtes venu en Angleterre?—Non, jamais.

En avez-vous reçu écrite en encre blanche pendant vôtre séjour en Angleterre?—Non.

Qui est la personne designée par M. Valence, sous le nom de son ami?—Apparemment, Lord Edouard Fitzgerald.

Quelles étoient les questions que vous deviez lui faire?—Je ne me rappelle pas d'aucune question que je devois lui faire.

Avez-vous en des relations avec M. Padenheim depuis vôtre voyage en Angleterre, en 1797?—Oui; il a même resté chez moi jusqu'à son départ pour la Suède.

Qui a payé son voyage en Irlande?—Je l'ai payé.

Et son retour à Hambourg?—Moi.

Avez-vous une terre près d'Hambourg?—Oui, mais je l'ai vendu le 15 Fevrier passé, pour 36,000 écus.

Quelle en étoit la revenue?—A-peu-près 2000 écus.

Cette terre, est-elle chargée de dettes?—Oui.

Jusqu'à quelle somme?—Jusqu'à 32,000.

Avez-vous d'autre revenue?—Oui, une pension de la cour de Russie, de 2000 roubles. Elle est regulièrement payé à mon banquier à Pétersbourg.

De retour à Hambourg, de vôtre voyage en Angleterre, en 1797, avez-vous fait un rapport de vôtre conversation avec Lord E. F., et a qui?—J'en ai fait un à M. Valence.

L'avez-vous avait fait verbalement, ou par écrit?—Je l'ai fait et verbalement et par écrit.

M. Valence, qu'a-t-il fait de ce rapport?—Je n'en sais rien.

TRANSLATION.

General Valence to M. Jägerhorn.

I have found your friend again, my dear neighbour. I have duly executed your commission, and he is setting out to join you. I have given him what he needed, and, notwithstanding what he may tell you, and what he must tell you, *that is my concern.*

Your wife is well: she has borne with fortitude the death of her brother-in-law. She is tormented on account of her people; but this will come to nothing, and they will go to work again as usual. Servants in this country are such that you nowhere find any like them.

I hope, by the first courier, to fix the final conclusion of your affair. I have seen our old friend. I will pay your orders as soon as I shall myself have the necessary money: the other day, he won enough from me at whist to wait patiently. M. Padenheim appears to me to be both your friend and an excellent man. I hope that he will come back with you, and that I may be able to find occasion to be of some service to him. I send you a little of the writing of M. Th——. You can show it to my friend, and that will serve you for your questions.

Farewell, my good and dear neighbour; I wish you health. May you succeed to the extent of your desires, and may your journey to London crown all your wishes! We have the finest weather in the world. I hope that neither wind nor sickness may annoy you on your voyage. Continue your friendship to me.

The 18th. T. J.

I shall send the small box, with one of the little jewels, to M. Padenheim.

General Valence to M. Jägerhorn.

I have a journey to take, my dear friend, which renders it very desirable for me to have the pleasure of seeing you again. I have received your last and very amiable letter, and I heartily wish success to your machine, and heartily also to hear of your return. I have been told that your American friend is come to London. Is this true? Come back, my dear Jägerhorn, and rejoin people who think of you with the most affectionate interest, and a wife who finds her situation uncomfortable. You will be sensible, if I set out for Switzerland, how distressing it will be not to have seen you first. Hay-time is here, that for reaping is not far off: it is for you to judge of your interest. My friendship can only offer you its good wishes. F. A.

My compliments to your cousin, from whom I received a letter on his arrival in England, and which I have not answered out of economy.

The 23d.

Declaration of M. Jägerhorn.

In answer to the question put to me what I was doing during my stay in England.

The object of my journey was to get a mechanical model made. Besides this, my acquaintance in the environs of Hamburg, and friends and relations of Lord Fitzgerald, with whom I had become acquainted at Hamburg, had charged me to converse with the same Lord Fitzgerald, and to entreat him not to intermeddle in the affairs of the insurgents in Ireland. He was not present [in London]. I sent him an intimation that I had something to say to him. Accordingly he came to London. I spoke to him on that subject. He assured me that, notwithstanding the warm interest which he took in all that related to his country, he was there but a cipher. I left him there, and set out, rendering an account to his friends on my return. Since that time I have neither had any knowledge of, nor the least concern in, those affairs, having lived quietly at my country-house, called Reinbeck, two leagues from Hamburg, in the territory of Holstein.

For the rest, I am ready to answer any questions about this affair, or about any others that specially concern myself, to give unequivocal proofs of the real veneration and attachment to the cause which the British Government is defending with such vigour and glory, and which very sentiments decided me to come and settle in this country.

Letter from Lord Edward Fitzgerald referred to in M. Jägerhorn's Examination.

M. Jägerhorn Spurila.

Sir—I thank you heartily for your letter, and for reminding me of the agreeable moments that we passed with our friends at Silh. I was on the point of setting out for London, to escort one of my sisters, and I reckon to a certainty on seeing you: so expect me. M. Padenheim, who starts this evening, will deliver this letter. I mean to be off to-morrow evening.

Your friend, with much respect, E. F.

Examination of M. Jägerhorn.

Question.—On behalf of whom did you receive the commission to speak to Lord Fitzgerald, in England?—*Answer.* Of General Valence.

About what time?—Two years ago in the month of April.

What were the precise instructions given you by General Valence?—

To tell Lord E. Fitzgerald not to intermeddle in the affairs of the insurgents in Ireland.

Did you know Lord E. Fitzgerald before your arrival in England in 1797?—Yes; I knew him at Hamburg in 1796, through M. Valence, who was my neighbour in the country.

Had you seen him with Reinhard, the minister?—No, never. I did not know Reinhard, the minister, at that time, and I did not even know then that they had any intercourse. *But I have known it since.*

How did you know since of the intercourse subsisting between them?—I have known of it since through M. Valence, who opened himself to me on this subject.

M. Valence, then, knew that Lord E. Fitzgerald had intercourse with Reinhard, the minister, on the subject of the affairs of Ireland?—Yes, for he spoke of it to me.

Did M. Valence give you any address in England?—None, excepting that of Lord E. Fitzgerald in Ireland.

Had you not the address of some merchants in London?—Yes, for Messrs. Thelusson and Goldsmid.

In what house did you meet Lord E. Fitzgerald?—At the house where I lodged in the Minories. I do not recollect the number of the house, but it is kept by a woman whose name (I believe) is Brown, about the middle of the street, on the right-hand side going down towards the river.

Who found that house for you?—M. Nisser, chaplain to the minister of Sweden.

Who brought Lord E. Fitzgerald to you?—Nobody: I had given him my address.

In what manner had you communicated your address to him?—I sent to Dublin one of my friends, a Swede, who had travelled with me from Yarmouth to London.

What is the name of that friend?—M. Padenheim. He had come over on business, having been in the service of the Sierra Leone Company.

Did you give him a verbal commission?—No, only a letter, sealed in such a manner that he could not know anything of the contents.

Did he bring you a written answer?—No, only a verbal answer, that Lord E. F. was to bring his sister in about a fortnight, and would then call to see me.

Were you not charged to deliver to Lord E. F. a letter from somebody?—No, not to my lord, but to my lady, from Mademoiselle Mathis-

son. This letter was given to me open: it contained nothing but good wishes for her health, and to see her happy.

What did you say to Lord F. in the letter which you wrote to him? —I told him that I had come to this country, and that I should be very glad to see him again, and to renew my acquaintance with him, and that I had, moreover, things to communicate to him on behalf of his friends at Hamburg.

Did Lord E. F. come several times to see you?—No; only a single time.

In the morning or the evening?—In the morning, about 11 o'clock.

How long did he stay with you?—Till between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

At this interview, did Lord F. appear disposed to follow your advice? —Yes; he appeared to yield to my advice, and with the stronger reason, because he spoke of the affairs of the insurgents as being almost desperate.

Did he speak to you, at this time, of a man named M'Kenzie?—No.

Or of one Smith?—No.

In what manner did he speak to you about the affairs of the insurgents being almost desperate?—He said that they had neither arms nor munitions, nor even money, nor any hope of foreign aid, and that out of 100,000 United Irishmen there were but 6000 who were armed.

Did he name to you any of his friends among the United Irish?—No; he talked a great deal about Hoche's expedition, and said that if this general had gone to the North there would have been greater probability of a rising.

Do you know M. Dahlman, a Swedish officer?—Yes.

How long have you known him?—Ever since 1792, at which period I knew him in Paris. I saw him for the last time when leaving Hamburg.

Has he been in the service of France?—No, never.

Who is the M. Ferrier, whose address I find in your pocket-book?— It is the name assumed by General Valence.

Who wrote that letter which I find in your pocket-book, dated "the 23d," beginning with the words, "I have a journey to make," and ending "My friendship can only offer you its good wishes," and signed F. A., with a postscript which ends with the word "economy?" — General Valence, and, as I believe, during my stay in England.

Who is the person mentioned by the designation of "your American friend?"—Probably Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Who is the person spoken of under the name of "your cousin?"— Apparently, M. Padenheim.

How did you receive this letter?—By the post, I think.

How could the people of the Post Office find out your address, since it is not specified on the letter?—Probably it came under cover to some friend or other; I do not recollect to whom.

Have you any kind of cipher, or words agreed upon to express certain things with Lord E. F.?—No; nothing of the sort.

From whom is the letter found in your pocket-book, addressed "A Monsieur Jägerhorn Spurila," without date, and signed, "Your friend with much respect, E. F.?"—It is from Lord E. F.

Then you were mistaken when you told me that M. Padenheim brought you a verbal and not a written answer?—Yes; I had forgotten.

What is the meaning of the word "Silh" in that letter?"—It is the country-seat of M. Valence, where I made acquaintance with Lord E. F.

Did you know M. Padenheim before you left Hamburg, in April, 1797?—Yes, I knew him before: he has even stayed some days at my house in the country.

Had you communicated to him the plan of your journey?—Yes; the plan, but not the object.

Did you settle where to meet him in London?—Yes; at the Swedish minister's.

Do you know whether M. Padenheim's travelling expences were paid by some person, and by whom?—I know that M. Valence gave him ten guineas to come to England. A moment before his departure, I met him, and proposed to pay the expences of his voyage, provided that he would go with me. As he could not accompany me, M. Valence paid the cost of his voyage.

Do you know the letter taken from your pocket-book, and addressed "To M. Jägerhorn Spurila, London?"—Yes; it is from M. de Valence.

What does M. Valence mean by the following expression which it contains, "Notwithstanding," &c.?—I am not able to explain it. But this must necessarily allude to the money which M. Valence gave to M. Padenheim.

Then it is M. Padenheim that he is speaking of, under the name of your friend?—Yes; so it appears.

Who is the person designated in M. Valence's letter as M. Th——?—I do not know.

Were you the bearer of a letter or paper of some sort, written with white ink, from M. Valence, or whomsoever it might be, when you came to England?—No, never.

Did you receive any such paper written with white ink, during your stay in England?—No.

Who is the person meant by M. Valence, under the designation of his friend?—Apparently, Lord E. Fitzgerald.

What were the questions that you had to put to him?—I do not recollect any question that I was to have put to him.

Have you had relations with M. Padenheim since your journey to England, in 1797?—Yes; he even stayed at my house till his departure for Sweden.

Who paid for his journey to Ireland?—I paid for it.

And for his return to Hamburg?—I.

Had you an estate near Hamburg?—Yes; but I sold it, on the 15th of February last, for 36,000 crowns.

What was the income from it?—Nearly 2000 crowns.

Is that property encumbered with debts?—Yes.

To what amount?—32,000.

Have you any other income?—Yes; a pension from the court of Russia of 2900 rubles. It is regularly paid to my banker at Petersburg.

On your return to Hamburg, from your journey to England, in 1797, did you make any report of your conversation with Lord E. F., and to whom?—I did make one to M. Valence.

Did you make it verbally, or in writing?—I made it both verbally and in writing.

What did M. Valence do with that report?—I know nothing about that.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, April 8, 1799.

My dear Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship the enclosed intelligence from Plymouth, relative to a projected descent on Ireland, and I am to desire your Lordship will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Intelligence from Mr. Hawker, Plymouth.

On the 4th inst., at 8 P.M., arrived here (Plymouth) the Swedish brig Count Wrangel, Captain Danbourg, from Dieppe,

in ballast, bound to Norfolk, Virginia. In her came passenger Captain John Lennan (late commanding the schooner privateer Young Jonah): he reports he left Dieppe the 3rd inst., about noon (made his escape), and that a requisition was to take place throughout the coast on the 15th Germinal (4th April), on all privateers, and, as they return, their people (and all fishermen) are taken from them to equip the grand armament now preparing for a descent on Ireland; it is reported no less than forty ships of war (of all sizes) will sail to protect them. In addition to which information, he informs me of another expedition preparing for St. Domingo (by report), consisting of four sail of the line, and a sufficient number of transports to embark 15,000 troops, the whole of which is going forward under the direction of Commodore Barney (an American), who is invested with high powers over them. Seventeen *large ships* are engaged *as a part of this flotilla.*

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, April 10, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship the enclosed copy of information of the principal movements and occurrences at Brest during the month of March, 1799, communicated by Captain D'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon; and I am to request that your Lordship will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Substance of the information received the 6th of April, of the principal movements and occurrences at Brest during the month of March, 1799.

Brest, March 15.—The frigates La Cornélie and Fraternité sailed the 1st of March, to meet a convoy from Rochefort to

Bourdeaux, that had put in Benaudet under the escort of the five corvettes, La Mignonne, l'Enfant Prodigue, le Vautour, le Berceau, and la Levrette. In the evening, the two frigates met an English frigate in the Race, and passed within pistol-shot. The English asked their names in English, and the Fraternité and Cornélie made their private signals, which drew the fire of the English frigate. The former, not being ready for action, prepared during the night, but at daylight were out of sight of the English ship, but were joined by the frigates la Charente, la Bravoure, and la Semillante, from L'Orient, and who chased the former two as far as Groiais, before they were overtaken and known. The corvettes and convoy from Benaudet came in the night of the 1st, having lost eight brigs on their passage, that had been taken by two English frigates.

Accounts from L'Orient state that the Argonaute, a new line of battle ship, is almost completely rigged, and the Sirène frigate is likewise near ready at that port to join the Brest division.

March 17.—The fleet in the Road gathers strength daily by the ships that are fitted successively hauling out. There are this morning in the Road twenty-two line of battle ships, whereof the Ocean, Republician, and Terrible are three-deckers, four of eighty guns, two-deckers, and fifteen of seventy-four guns: their names will be transmitted when they are arranged in line of battle, when the minister has arranged it. Most of the captains are destituted, and others are to be appointed immediately. It is now known that Citizen Bruix comes to expedite the armament, and not to command it in person.

Notwithstanding the forced levy, the crews are still very weak and ill composed, having few real seamen. There are only the ships of the division, so long since under sailing orders, that are any way complete; the rest have, on an average, only 400 of their ship's company on board; the Terrible had only twenty messes on board belonging to her

yesterday. N.B.—Each mess in the French ships consists of seven individuals.

March 18.—The Invincible hauled into the Road, as did the Fougueux. The Tyrannicide has got again to the transporting buoy, and will be out in a day or two, as will the Centaur shortly. Large convoys of ropes, cables, and stores arrive daily by land, and the most active exertions are made in every quarter to prepare the armament; and, by the publicity and parade that attend it, many here judge that a part of it only will go upon service, and the surplus to intimidate by appearances: indeed, the whole will, at all events, be very incomplete, if it continues subdivided as it is at present. The rich Portuguese prize of the frigate La Bravoure was disposed of within these few days.

March 20.—The division of three ships of the line and the frigates are always under orders for sea, and frequently make demonstrations of moving, but are still here. The corvettes that brought the last convoy are also under sailing orders for Bourdeaux, Nantes, and L'Orient.

Preparations have been made for the arrival in this town of 7000 troops: their destination is for embarkation, and supposed for Ireland. From the proportion of stores and sea provisions disposed for them, it appears they cannot be destined for a long voyage. The minister has, since his arrival, accelerated the equipment, by attributing every store where it was most wanting: no expence is spared to convey them hither by land; 1200 waggons (*chariots*) and teams are in requisition, between this and Laval on the road eastward.

April 1.—The Tyrannicide is still at the transporting buoy. The only change in the Road since the 17th ult. in the fleet is the addition of the Invincible and Fougueux. Notwithstanding the activity of the colonnes mobiles in their pursuit of seafaring men, very few only are brought in, as the country people universally secrete them. Orders have been given to

quarter troops upon the families who have seafaring relations, and who neglect to appear when called upon.

The frigates Cornélie and la Fraternité have come into the harbour, and are disarmed, for the purpose of distributing their crews in the line of battle ships. An English privateer, named the Tartar, was brought into Brest on the 30th by l'Utile, privateer of Bourdeaux.

Accounts were likewise received from Rochefort at the bureau, that one line of battle ship and three frigates are completely rigged, and near ready, to join the Brest division, with whom they expect to be by the latter end of Germinal (about the middle of April). A part of the Belgic conscription levies (about 1200) arrived at Brest the 1st of April. The only changes yet known are: Citizen Delmotte, Contre-Amiral, has, since the arrival of the minister, executed the functions of Commander-in-Chief in the Road; and the Contre-Amiraux Bedouin and Courand command the van and rear divisions, and Chef-de-Division, Linois, is appointed Major-General of the fleet, and the Chef-de-Division, Pallière, Adjutant-General. Citizen Rivière, who was for a second time taken this war in the Hercule by the Mars, is appointed to the command of the Terrible. The whole of the seamen to whom pay was due were paid three months last Decade.

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Jersey, 6th April, 1799.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, April 12, 1799.

My Lord—The Regency Bill was last night committed. I stated the inadequacy of the Bill as then before the House, expressing my readiness to support it, if it was made a complete remedy for the evil it admitted, which could only be done by leaving the entire regulation of the regal power to the Parliament of Great Britain. Considering the measure as

only going to remedy one of the many cases in which a similar inconvenience might arise, I did not feel myself justified in taking part by moving any amendment in applying so inadequate and feeble a remedy.

The alterations made in committee by Mr. Fitzgerald have rendered the Bill still more incomplete and absurd, and it is my intention to-morrow, on the report, to propose that it be rejected. The Speaker, in the Committee, made his long-threatened speech. It was of above four hours' duration, embracing an infinite variety of topics, and delivered with animation and ability. It was the speech of an able partisan in a bad cause, everything sacrificed to popular impression; but well calculated to impress every class of men with aversion to the measure of Union. It was pointedly hostile to Mr. Pitt. Nothing could be more undeserved than his observations as addressed to him. It was a speech of considerable impression as such, but not calculated to produce an effect to be apprehended, should he think fit to give it to the world. I consider it advantageous that the Speaker has had an opportunity of doing his best. We have encountered our principal adversary, and his arguments will be well understood and answered before the subject comes again into decision.

The House betrayed less warmth on the question than formerly, but still I see no perceptible change within our walls, which could render the present prosecution of the measure in any degree practicable.

I have the honour, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt.

Private. Dublin Castle, April 14, 1799.

My dear Sir—I am directed by Lord Cornwallis to state to you the result of the opinion which he has been led to form after communicating with the principal friends of Government on the subject referred to his Excellency's decision in your

letter of the 7th. He perfectly agrees in opinion with you that Ireland, to stand entitled to the accommodation of raising money under your auspices in the British market, must adopt the principle of raising an equal proportion of her supplies within the year. The measure suggested of taxing income, though certainly connected with much greater difficulties in its collection, from the disturbed state of the country, than a land-tax of equal amount, appears preferable as tending to assimilate the system of the two countries, and to establish a criterion of their respective resources which may hearafter be of advantage.

His Excellency is equally convinced that this measure should on no account be suffered to be involved or connected with the Union, were even the temper of Parliament at this moment prepared for the adoption of that measure. So strongly is his Excellency impressed with the importance of this consideration, that it would be his advice that the income-tax should distinctly precede, and not be suffered even to accompany the Union.

With this view of the subject, I am to state to you the reasons why Lord Cornwallis considers it more expedient to call the Parliament together in the month of October, for the special purpose of considering this measure rather than to submit it to their consideration before the close of the present Session.

The business is at present so far advanced as to admit of our adjourning in the course of next week. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, being altogether unprepared with materials for carrying this measure into effect, could not bring it forward with any advantage for a considerable time. This delay, and the obstructions which would infallibly be given to it by the Speaker and Sir John Parnell, would keep the Parliament open for a considerable time, and detain the members in town, when their services are peculiarly required with their regiments or at their country places. Another consideration weighs with

his Excellency. It would postpone the proposed dismissals, which have been delayed till the close of the Session, to a distant day, which would embarrass him with his friends as well as his opponents; and the measure would now be proposed under considerable disadvantages, no sort of intimation having been given that such an intention was entertained, and it would be complained of as a surprise.

The proposed delay cannot be material to the ultimate object, which is getting at the produce of the tax. Were it now enacted, the arrangements for its collection would afterwards be to be made; whereas, the whole may be so prepared as to come into operation immediately after the passing of the Bill.

There are other reasons which induce Lord Cornwallis to think that a short Session before Christmas would be particularly desirable. Were the Income-tax and the Union to come before Parliament together at the usual time of meeting, the two measures would materially obstruct each other. To give the Income-tax the lead, if other circumstances were favourable, would be to postpone the Union inconveniently late in the Session; whereas, by calling the Parliament in October, we may get this measure out of our way. It will be taken upon grounds of necessity in no degree to be traced to the project of Union; and, by having an opportunity of ascertaining with accuracy the temper of Parliament, we shall judge with much greater precision of the prudence of bringing the Union forward than we could do if the members were to remain dispersed till the usual period for meeting. This disadvantage was severely felt on the late occasion.

Lord Cornwallis trusts the reasons which I have stated will induce you to concur with him in opinion that it is inexpedient to submit the measure to Parliament at the close of the present Session, and, if it is, that you will be disposed to give the preference that he does, to the suggestion of assembling the Parliament in October, rather than letting it stand over till the

month of January. In the mean time, the difficulty will be distinctly intimated to Parliament that naturally and justly occurs to our raising the very large loans required for the service of Ireland in the British market, and that the country must be prepared to make corresponding exertions in a future Session with their fellow-subjects of Great Britain. In the mean time his Excellency relies on your assistance.

I shall not fail to arrange with the Chancellor of the Exchequer a clause by which the Quit Rents shall be mortgaged to Great Britain for the additional million which you propose to obtain for us. A similar provision was, as you will observe, made in the Bill of last year (a copy of which I enclose in favour of the Bank of Ireland, in case of their being prevailed on to advance upon the Quit Rents. It will only, in the present instance, be necessary to vary the terms, so as to cover whatever rate of interest the money remitted may bear. The sale can always be regulated under the existing powers of the Act, according to your wishes, and the value of the Quit Rents will, when sold, liquidate the capital.

I have the honour, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, April 14, 1799.

My Lord—The business of our Session has run into greater length than was apprehended, when I last had the honour of addressing your Grace. There are four or five Bills still in progress, which will keep us sitting till the middle or end of next week. Your Grace will perceive that this after-session could not have been avoided; and, as circumstances have turned out, I do not think that any unfavourable consequences are likely to result from it. The Speaker's hostility being decided beyond all question, it certainly is advantageous that his attack should have been wasted, at a moment when the question of Union was not really at issue. Although his speech

has had its effect, there will be ample time for combating his arguments before the subject is again brought into discussion; and that it may be done with success your Grace will have little doubt when you have perused his arguments as published by himself.

The discussion and decision on the Regency Bill has been of much service to the cause of Union: by throwing the labouring oar entirely upon the opposite party, we have obtained a complete admission of the danger resulting from the present principle of connection and of their inability to remove it, without altering and surrendering up their final and immutable settlement of 1782. The measure was brought forward to place Government in the dilemma of refusing a remedy to an evil on which they relied, or of diminishing the necessity for a Union, by providing for the case of Regency. The attempt has completely failed; the dilemma has been thrown back on the proposers, by compelling them to relinquish this attempt as impracticable, unless they purposed to surrender up their Parliamentary independence, and with it their assertions that the settlement of 1782 was fundamental and irrevocable.

Notwithstanding a visible impression produced by the Speaker's argument, I can confidently assure your Grace that the measure of Union is making its way in proportion as it is canvassed and understood. At the same time, I feel it my duty to guard your Grace's mind against an impression which might lead to disappointment, namely, as to the degree in which the public sentiment has undergone a change. The clamour has certainly subsided and the measure has more open advocates who were before silent; but I cannot perceive either in or out of Parliament that impression which can lead me to form any opinion of when the measure may be carried. Within the House, some persons who were not decided on a late occasion are now more explicit, but I cannot as yet reckon on many declared converts. I only mention the subject in this point of view, and think it of importance to state that, although the difficul-

ties which stand in our way may yield without any very considerable delay, yet we must neither be dispirited nor disappointed if the resistance should prove obstinate, and the Opposition be kept together to a degree which may render the accomplishment of the measure in the next Session extremely problematical.

In answer to a letter from Mr. Pitt relating to an Income Tax in this country, I threw out, by the Lord-Lieutenant's directions, for consideration, the expediency of calling the Parliament in October, with a view to that measure. A Session before Christmas would enable us to feel our ground with certainty as to Union. It clearly is of importance not to risk a second failure, and no other means occur by which the disposition of the House may be ascertained so as to enable your Grace and the King's Ministers to form your determination, and to take your measures as to bringing on the question, without being exposed on the one hand to act upon uncertain grounds, and on the other having your decision so long delayed as to waste a portion of the usual session after Christmas, which might otherwise be advantageously employed in the furtherance of the measure.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Michael Burke, Esq. to Lord Castlereagh.

Ballydugan, April 16, 1799.

My Lord—I send you a letter I received from Mr. Blake, father of our member, stating his sentiments and those of several other Catholics, respecting the Union. In a late conversation I had with him, he came over to our opinion, but has since changed it on account of the Catholic claims. I see, by Mr. Foster's speech, that he throws out hopes to the Catholics of obtaining their claims from a separate Parliament. As, by his conduct on the question of Union, he has sacrificed the peace and prosperity of the country to gratify his pride

and ambition, he will of course, when he thinks it necessary, also sacrifice to the same objects his favourite plan and principle, if any he has, of excluding the Catholics.

I think I know their sentiments tolerably well; if they find that Foster and those Anti-Unionists who have hitherto opposed their claims, now encourage their hopes of strongly supporting them, they will, in general, oppose the Union strongly, as they consider they would have much more weight when admitted into a separate, than they would in a United Parliament. They also consider that, on the decease of the King, or the removal of Mr. Pitt (both events, I hope, far distant from us), their claims will be admitted. If, therefore, it is the intention of Government to admit those claims at the time of a Union, they can't be too soon in making it known to them, to prevent their getting into the dangerous hands of Mr. Foster and his associates. Those of our religion, who may apprehend their being admitted at some future period, under a separate Parliament, may now probably consent to their being admitted into the United Parliament, to guard against the dangers they apprehend to the Constitution and Church Establishment, from the former taking place.

I consider that Mr. Foster is getting into Mr. Grattan's politics, and, I think, will be yet held in the same estimation by the loyal friends of British connexion. His speech has, if possible, fortified me more in the early opinion I formed on this question, when I find the man on whom so many seem to rely on this question obliged to resort to factious, and, I think, disloyal sentiments to support it; but, if Government are either intimidated or deterred from persevering in the only measure likely to save the country, they are not deserving of the confidence, which, I trust, they possess, of the truly loyal and disinterested men, and friends of British connexion in it.

I am, &c.

MICHAEL BURKE.

PS. Some of the Speaker's assertions are fully disproved by this County. A County meeting was held in it. The friends of Union, considering that reason and moderation would not be listened to, from their knowledge of some of those who attended it, and who were the orators at it; one of them, Mr. Peter D——, well known for factious conduct (the other, a man turned out of a corps on suspicion of disloyalty), did not attend. A Protest has appeared, containing property to four times the amount of all those who attended it, and a majority of those as yet committed on the question. It must be observed that the friends of Union are very much increased in this County since that period. There were, indeed, some very loyal and good men at that meeting, who, on any occasion, Union or no Union, will support the peace and Government of the country against Separatists.

The Lord Chancellor to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Ely Place, April 18, 1799.

My dear Lord—I cannot be responsible for any mis-statement of what may fall from me in Parliament; for, if any alarm for the Institution at Maynooth has been sounded, most certainly it can have no foundation in anything which was stated by me, as I did distinctly and repeatedly say that I considered it now to be a great national object, and essential to the public security, that there should be a well-regulated Academy in Ireland for the education of Catholics. But it would have been an idle waste of time and a mockery of the House of Lords to have originated any Regulation there, even if there had been time now to enter into so difficult a subject, in a Bill of Appropriation sent up by the Commons. If we had pretended to originate any such, it would have been rejected by the Commons for that reason alone, if no other objection was made to it. There can be nothing so easy as to dissipate any alarm which may have arisen by introducing a new Bill of Appropriation of a moderate sum, if any is really wanted to support the

College at Maynooth for the current year, without any clause which may be construed into a legislative sanction of their present establishment, which I am quite clear, if it were to receive a permanent sanction, would enable the Popish prelates of this country to subvert the Government of it in ten years. It seems to be a complete Irish idea first to make an Establishment, and then to take the chance for guarding against the maladministration of it.

Your Excellency may be assured that, if the Catholics are given to understand they can have such an Establishment only on terms compatible with its due administration, they will submit to the terms. But, if we first sanction the Establishment on their terms, and then desire to control them in the administration of it, they will raise a clamour with some plausible ground for it.

Believe me, &c.,

CLARE.

Lord Cornwallis to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Phœnix Park, April 18, 1799.

My dear Lord—I neither meant to accuse your Lordship of intending any serious mischief to this country, nor to defend the Establishment of Maynooth from the charges of abuse and mismanagement which you so clearly stated. Had the House of Lords gone no further than to propose the means of reforming the abuses, to restrain the shameful expenditure of the public money, and to restrict the Establishment to the original objects of its institution, there could have been no plausible grounds for sounding a general alarm amongst the Catholics. But I am sorry to say that a very different construction was put upon the proceedings of the House of Lords, and there was not a person amongst those whom I saw on Tuesday morning who did not conceive that the institution of Maynooth was entirely done away: and many of them were so blinded by their Protestant zeal as to exult exceedingly in the justice of

the punishment which they conceived to be thereby inflicted on the Catholics for their late offences.

When that opinion universally prevails at Dublin, there can be no doubt that the emissaries of faction as well as of treason will be very active in conveying it to every corner of the kingdom, and that it will most powerfully tend to inflame the minds of the Catholics of all orders against the Government, on the evil consequences of which it is I am sure unnecessary for me to expatiate.

I conceive it therefore to be necessary that either something should be said in Parliament, or some other public means taken to quiet the minds of the people, and to convince them that it is not the intention of the Leglislature to destroy the institution; and I should be much obliged to your Lordship if you will have the goodness to suggest the mode which may appear to you the most proper for effecting this purpose.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Private. Dublin Castle, April 26, 1799.

My Lord—The Lord-Lieutenant has apprized your Grace of the unexpected interruption given to the grant for the Catholic College in the Lords, in postponing the consideration of the Bill till the 1st of August. The Chancellor's object was to have a new Bill, with further provisions for the regulation of that seminary, sent up from the Commons. His Lordship was not aware that the orders of Parliament preclude us from bringing in a second Bill on the same subject, one having already passed this Session, and being yet pending in the other House. Had it been amended and sent down, no difficulty would have occurred. Finding, upon consultation with the Speaker, that it could not be done, I nevertheless thought it right to move for leave in the House, which gave me an opportunity of removing any unfavourable impression which this

transaction might have made, and of stating that it would be the duty of Government, under the sanction of the provision made by the Commons for the support of the institution, to take care that it did not suffer or fall into decay, should the rising of Parliament before the 1st of August preclude the Lords from deciding on the Bill sent up for their consideration. Under this explanation and the opinion of the chair, I withdrew the motion. The subject being actually before the Lords by Bill, made it inexpedient, if not altogether unparliamentary, to proceed by address.

At the late assizes at Clonmell, two actions were tried, and verdicts obtained upon them against Mr. Fitzgerald, for acts done by him during the Rebellion in the execution of his office as High Sheriff.[1] In consequence of this, various actions have

[1] The following is one of the cases to which Lord Castlereagh alludes:—"Mr. Thomas J. Fitzgerald seized in Clonmel a gentleman of the name of Wright, against whom no grounds of suspicion could be conjectured by his neighbours, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him several days without permitting his wounds to be dressed, so that his recovery from such a state of laceration could hardly be expected. In a trial at law after the rebellion, in action of damages brought by Wright, against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudice ran amazingly high against persons accused of disloyalty, that the defendant was sentenced to pay £500 to the prosecutor. Many other actions on similar grounds would have been commenced if the Parliament had not put a stop to such proceedings, by an act of indemnity for all errors committed by magistrates from supposed zeal in the public service. A letter, written in the French language, found in the pocket of Wright, was hastily considered as a proof of guilt, though the letter was of a perfectly innocent nature."—*Gordon's History of the Rebellion.*

This Fitzgerald was the same person whose zeal in the discovery of offenders is recorded in the Life of Sir John Moore. When that general, on the march from Fermoy, entered the town of Clogheen, he saw with disgust a man tied up in the street and under the lash, while the street itself was lined with country people on their knees, with their hats off: nor was that disgust repressed when he was informed that the

been brought not only against him but against many other magistrates who were active in repressing the disaffected. Nothing could be more fatal to the King's interests than an impression obtaining that the Bill of Indemnity was inadequate to protect those who had acted for the public service with good intentions, however in a moment of struggle and warmth they might have erred in point of discretion. Nothing can be more explicit than the words of the law are upon this subject; and, there can be no doubt that, if soundly and clearly expounded by the Bench, and correctly acted upon by the jury, protection is completely afforded by them to every man whom the Legislature could possibly mean to protect. But when these transactions come to be reviewed at a cooler moment, the act of violence is proved, when it is impossible for the defendant to adduce evidence to the whole of the circumstances under which he acted. There is a laudable disposition in the Bench to condemn what appears, as the case is stated, a severity not altogether called for; the circumstances are strongly coloured by the plaintiff's counsel; and the jury ultimately find their verdict rather upon the question of whether the defendant exercised a sound discretion than whether he acted *bonâ fide* with a fair intention for the public service.

Foreseeing that many actions, tending to keep alive animosities, are likely to be brought to trial, it has been thought expedient by the Crown Lawyers, with the approbation of the Chancellor, to introduce a short Bill, requiring the jury, in all actions when the defendant pleads that he acted for the suppression of the Rebellion, in case they find for the plaintiff, to find that the defendant acted maliciously and not with an intent to suppress the Rebellion, otherwise the verdict to be null and void; and that, on all such actions, it shall be competent for the judge to certify against the verdict, if it shall be for

High Sheriff, Mr. Fitzgerald, was making great discoveries, and that he had already flogged the truth out of many respectable persons. His rule was "to flog each person till he told the truth."

the plaintiff, and upon such certificate a nonsuit shall be entered.

It is considered that this will bring the jury to decide in all cases upon the true question at issue; the *quo animo* with which the defendant acted, as it would be a little hard upon the defendant to be prepared for years after the fact to prove that his conduct was altogether prudent or justified by the strict necessity of the case. The certificate of the judge will guard against the improper findings of disaffected juries, to which a country so disturbed and corrupted cannot but be liable.

Less than this, I trust your Grace will be of opinion could not be done without leaving our friends most unpleasantly exposed: more I should hope is altogether unnecessary, as I cannot conceive that any man should be indemnified, who appears to a jury to have acted maliciously, and in which opinion the Bench concurs.

Within these few days, the practice of houghing has been revived on the borders of Clare and Galway, in a small degree. The most active measures will be taken to repress it. The kingdom in general is much less disturbed than it was.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

The Bishop of Meath to Lord Castlereagh.

New Bond Street, April 27, 1799.

My Lord—I hope your Lordship will not think that I obtrude myself upon your notice improperly, or that I presume on the marks of attention with which you have often honoured me, to interfere with my opinions on a subject that has engaged much of your Lordship's time and attention, when you neither called for nor expected them. I have too good cause to be persuaded of your Lordship's candour and indulgence, not to rely on your doing justice to the motives by which I am actuated in taking such a liberty, and in them I

trust you will kindly search for reasons to excuse to yourself what, without such allowance, you might well receive as forward and officious.

After this necessary apology, I think I can assume to myself a further plea. From the attention I have paid to the establishment of the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth, I considered it to be one of those objects which, in the situation to which your Lordship was so instrumental in raising me, required a considerable share of my observation. The interests of religion and the public morals could not fail of being materially affected by such an institution; and it was of the greatest consequence to see that, planned as it had been in the soundest policy and truest wisdom, its purposes should not be frustrated by the manner of regulating and conducting it.

Whether it was wise at the present moment to irritate the minds of the Roman Catholics by the late decision of the Lords, your Lordship may be assured is not a question on which I shall presume to enter. I am happy to hear that it is not to be final as to the institution itself, but that your Lordship has wisely determined to revive it by a new bill. It is in this stage of the business that I am encouraged to submit my observations to your Lordship.

One of the great objects of the institution was to bring the education of the Roman Catholic clergy, on whom the morals and conduct of the Roman Catholic body so exclusively depend, into contact with the Government, and to subject them, as far as might be, without outraging their religious prejudices, under its control. For the accomplishment of this object, I thought, from the very first, that the Board of Trustees was improperly constituted. The great majority were Roman Catholics, and the few Protestants who were joined to them seemed to have been nominated rather as a compliment, than as forming an active and efficient part of their body. It is certain that in no instance (and one or two of very great importance, such as the expulsion of the United Irish Students, and the removal

of Hussey, have occurred), did any of the Protestant Trustees interfere, nor were they ever called in by the others; I very humbly submit to your Lordship whether occasion might not now be taken to correct what I account a great error. I submit whether, in addition to the present number of Protestant Trustees, the Archbishop of Dublin, as Metropolitan, the Bishop of Kildare, as the Diocesan, and some additional officers of the Crown, should not be appointed, whether it should not be provided that, for all the great objects of the institution, in its management, its discipline, or the nomination of its members, no meeting of the Board should be held without proper notice being given to the Protestant Trustees, and a specified number of them being present, and whether, altogether and of the whole body appointed, there should not be a majority of Protestants.

A circumstance has already occurred to prove how essential such a regulation must be to the great objects of Government in forming the institution—I mean, the removal of Hussey. Although the Roman Catholic Trustees, and particularly the greater number of their bishops, were very willing to drive him from amongst them, through personal envy and hatred, yet they neither dared nor would avow the cause for which Government called for his removal. It was not the inflammatory doctrines he advanced in his pastoral letter, nor the mischievous tendency of the spiritual tyranny he proposed to establish, that was given to him as the motive for not suffering him to be any longer at the head of an establishment designed to promote the public tranquillity. They had recourse to the subterfuge of his being absent from the kingdom, and thus every advantage to be derived from the example was effectually frustrated.

I have observed that they neither dared nor would place this expulsion on the ground on which alone it could answer the purposes of Government. They dared not, as Hussey could have appealed against them to their spiritual superior,

for having punished him for enforcing the discipline of the Church of Rome, and they would not, as they had, every one of them, in their respective dioceses, adopted his system, and vigorously compelled their clergy to carry it into effect.

I perfectly agree with the Chancellor, that a Protestant Government and a Protestant Legislature would act a most absurd and inconsistent part in continuing, at an immense national expence, an establishment, the conductors and teachers of which maintain, and consequently inculcate to their pupils, a principle of inextinguishable opposition and enmity to the Established Church; but, if his speech has been properly reported in the newspapers, he has taken no notice of what is most dangerous and insufferable in the system on which the Roman Catholic Bishops have agreed to act, and which is openly and daringly avowed in Hussey's letter—I mean, the regulation of deterring by menaces of excommunication, and immediate exclusion from all the benefits and blessings of the Church, such parents as shall send their children to be educated at Protestant schools. The worst enemies of Ireland could not devise a scheme more effectually calculated to keep this description of the king's subjects a distinct people for ever, and to maintain eternal enmity and hatred between them and the Protestant body. It was obviously a scheme to raise a spiritual wall of separation between them, in the place of that civil wall which the Legislature had removed, and to counteract the effects of that liberal intercourse, which every friend of his country rejoiced to see so generally taking place, but from which the Roman Catholic Priests, imprudently left to depend for their subsistence on the number of their respective congregations, naturally dreaded to be the sufferers.

This was precisely the same tyranny of which they had themselves so long complained, as violating the first principles of nature, by denying the parent the right of educating his

child as seemed best to himself. It differed only in the nature of the punishment, and it was the more oppressive, as they are more inexorable in inflicting their spiritual than the Legislature ever was its civil penalties.

But this was not the only evil to be apprehended from this system of exclusive education. It was obviously calculated to bring into their own hands the education of all the lower orders throughout the kingdom. Of this I had myself a convincing proof in the Diocese of Ossory, some short time before I was removed from it. In several parishes, the ministers complained to me that their Protestant schoolmasters had thrown up their schools. The Roman Catholics had withdrawn all their children, and the Protestants were not sufficiently numerous to afford them a livelihood by continuing to teach them. As the rule was become universal, the consequences must become equally so; and, as the Protestants of the middling and lower orders must necessarily procure some kind of education for their children, the instruction of the youth of those classes would inevitably be engrossed by the Roman Catholic Clergy, who have the entire direction of their schools. I need not observe to your Lordship how much more effectually this system was calculated to diminish the number of Protestants in Ireland, than all the institutions which have been established at the national expence to increase it.

Another dangerous part of the system avowed by Hussey, and put into practice by all the Roman Catholic clergy, is that of denying to admit to confession or to the sacrament those servants who, in the houses of pious and devout Protestants, attend their masters at their family prayers. They shall commit any crime and be absolved from it; but to join in prayers with the family whose bread they eat, although it be notorious that there is nothing in those prayers that interferes with their particular tenets, is represented to those poor creatures as a crime of so heinous a nature as not even to entitle them to approach

the confession-box. This is obviously in the same view of securing their adherents from all risk of deserting them as the former regulation; but with what evident evil consequences is it pregnant! and can we be surprised at what so many Protestant families witnessed among their servants during the Rebellion? This spiritual horror with which their priests took such pains to infuse into them against their masters proved but a step to arm them against their lives. Persons of that level cannot so nicely distinguish between their duties. They cannot weigh so much social good-will against so much religious abhorrence, nor understand why they are to show any fidelity or attachment to him, as a man, whom they are taught to hold in abomination, and to exclude from all communion and intercourse, as a Christian. Religion is allowed to be the great bond of society: where that is not only broken, but converted into an instrument of endless disunion, to what other restraints will a common Roman Catholic hold himself bound to submit in any of the relations in which he stands connected with a Protestant! Nothing remains to restrain or coerce him but the dread of punishment and the rigour of the laws; and, let but the circumstances of the times give him a hope of escaping or eluding these, and he will plunder, he will open his master's door to the midnight assassin, and join in his murder. These are words that convey no idea of criminality to him, and, instead of incurring guilt, he thinks he serves his religion.

Connected with this abuse, and directed to the same object is that part of the system alluded to in the report of the Chancellor's speech, that forbids all Roman Catholics to enter a Protestant Church, to assist at a Protestant sermon or exhortation, or to receive any kind of moral or religious instruction from a Protestant minister. As this is one of the greatest objects of their dread, so they inexorably punish all who transgress with public excommunication. With us in England, excommunication has long been disused; but even when it made

a part of the practical discipline of the Established Church, it required a regular legal course of proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts. But the Roman Catholic priests exercise this dangerous engine of their power at discretion, and almost altogether to deter from heresy. Amongst them, it is accompanied by all its ancient terrors and effects. The excommunicated person is driven from society: no one converses with him: no one serves, no one employs him. Of this, there came before me a remarkable instance, in a man from Thomas Town, who, in his family, constantly read an English Bible, and sometimes went to hear a sermon at the Protestant church. His priest admonished, but to no effect: a sentence of excommunication was then publicly pronounced against him, and the immediate consequence was the entire loss of his business as a house-painter, and that he and his family were reduced to poverty. He was frequently advised to bring an action of damages against the priest; but he was afraid for his life should he attempt it, and he was finally obliged to quit the country.

Your Lordship will judge whether this is an instrument to be left in such hands uncontrolled and unregulated, and how far it is bearable that these men should exercise an authority unknown to the laws of the land, assuming a power above these laws, and tending to deprive the subject of his legal rights, beyond the most arbitrary and tyrannical exertion of the civic authority.

That such a system as this deserves to be reprobated by the Legislature no man can deny. It is equally undeniable that an establishment conducted by persons engaged in reducing this system into practice, and in which is provided a regular succession of persons trained to and instructed to perpetuate it, should not even be tolerated, much less supported at the public expence. But there is a wide difference between abolishing the establishment and revising it after a proper trial; between violating, in a moment, and from passion and prejudice, the faith of Government and the implied pledge of Par-

liament, and endeavouring to correct the abuses that frustrate the intentions of Government and Parliament, in providing for an institution which, if properly conducted, must be productive of the greatest public good. I would indisputably enter into a thorough explanation with the Roman Catholic Bishops on these points which I have detailed. I should insist on their formally and practically renouncing this dangerous system in all its parts, and on their giving a pledge that no such doctrines should be taught in their divinity schools, nor enforced by their parochial clergy; but, unless they perversely refused compliance, and so made it manifest, that, instead of contributing to the public peace and tranquillity, and reconciling the two descriptions of his majesty's subjects to each other, its tendency must be to perpetuate religious divisions and animosities; and, in place of contributing to give effect to the laws, and to secure obedience to the civil power, to build up a power acting independent of the laws, and assuming an authority superior to them, as it is found in Hussey's pamphlet, I should think it a most unwise measure to suffer the education of the Roman Catholic Clergy to return to its old course, from which so much mischief has flowed to the empire. On that event they must either go for their education to countries hostile to England, where, in addition to their religious prejudices, they will imbibe those civil prejudices, and that spirit of hatred and resentment, of which France and Spain have uniformly availed themselves, ever since the period of the Reformation, to raise a party for themselves, and excite domestic disturbances in Ireland; or they will be left to pick up such an education as they can find at home, amidst all the poverty, ignorance, and low and vicious habits, of the class from which they are generally taken. Ever since the establishment of the college at Maynooth, I have observed a great abuse of this nature; and, in an official return, which I made to Mr. Pelham of the schools in Kilkenny, I pointed it out to him.

The establishment of Maynooth was made for such a number of students as Hussey, assisted by their bishops, returned as necessary for a constant and full supply of their parochial clergy. But, not content with this, their bishops, by a dangerous compliance with one of the regulations of the Council of Trent, and an affected imitation of the bishops of the Continent, have established a seminary under their own immediate inspection, for the education of Priests in every diocese through the kingdom. If I can judge of them all by what I observed of that in Ossory, this is a most dangerous abuse. In the first place, it goes to multiply their clergy beyond calculation, and to make them swarm in a country where there can be no provision for them, and where they will, in all probability, minister to the vices and consult the worst prejudices of the lower orders to get bread. In the next place, as the students of these seminaries do not reside in them, but come there occasionally and at stated periods, from all the parts of each diocese, they must spend the greatest part of their time among their parents and friends, acquiring habits of idleness and of all the vices which abound among their own class, and must of course become a profligate and abandoned priesthood.

This proves in itself the necessity of such an institution as that of Maynooth, and must militate against a scheme which I hear is in contemplation, for diminishing the number of the students to be provided for in that college. So far from this being a wise measure, the number necessary for the supply of their parochial clergy should be maintained in its fullest extent, but then Government should be authorized to insist on the suppression of all private seminaries, as far as they comprehend the education of priests for the ministry, and that their bishops should give orders to none but those who have certificates that they have been educated at Maynooth. As their education is provided for by the Government and the Legislature, they ought to be under regulation to them as the Established Church is; and they have no occasion to

complain that the same measure should be dealt to one as to the other.

I owe a thousand apologies to your Lordship for having broken in so long on your time; but I will not prolong my intrusion further, than to hope that your Lordship is assured of the sincere attachment and high respect of,

My Lord, your, &c., &c.,

T. L. MEATH.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, April 29, 1799.

My Lord—The information respecting the conclusion of your Session, which your Excellency may imagine I must have been for some time in expectation of your commmunicating to me, I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving in a letter (private) from Lord Castlereagh, which contains besides many interesting particulars, for which I desire your Excellency to return him my best thanks.

In consequence of this intimation, I have the honour of acquainting your Excellency that I shall send you by Poyle, your messenger, a copy of the joint Address and Resolutions which were presented to the King by the two Houses of Parliament on Friday last, and his Majesty's most gracious answer, the substance of which you will communicate to the Irish Parliament in the manner proposed by your Excellency; in your intended speech at the close of the Session, a draft of which, I suppose, is now upon the road, together with notice of the time to which it is your intention that the House should adjourn, after having agreed to the remainder of the Bills, which are to be transmitted for his Majesty's approbation and consent.

I beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on the full confirmation of the good accounts which have been received of the success of the Austrian arms, and have the honour to be, &c. PORTLAND.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, April 29, 1799.

My dear Lord—The Duke of Portland has directed me to transmit to your Lordship, for the Lord-Lieutenant's information, the enclosed copy of a note which I have received from Mr. Balan, the Prussian Chargé d' Affaires, on the subject of the late journey of Captain Schouler to Ireland, and to inform your Lordship confidentially that there is but too much reason to fear that the King of Prussia is about to recede from the engagement he has contracted.

Every attention will be paid here to a subject of such importance to the tranquillity of Ireland, but I am afraid that his Prussian Majesty's resolution is finally taken.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

M. Balin to Mr. Wickham.

Londres, ce 26 Avril, 1799.

M. Balan a l' honneur de faire ses complimens à Mr. Wickham, et de l'informer que le Capitaine de Schouler est revenu hier de l' Irlande, après y avoir examiné ceux des insurgens faits prisonniers qui sont propres à servir dans l'armée Prussienne en qualité de simples soldats. Cet officier se dispose maintenant à faire son rapport au Roi sur le résultat de ses démarches, et ce ne sera que lorsque la réponse et les ordres ultérieurs de sa Majesté seront arrivés qu'on pourra procéder à l'embarquement et au transport, des recrues, que le Capitaine de Schouler pourra être dans le cas de faire. M. Balan prie donc Mr. Wickham de vouloir bien faire en sorte qu'en attendant le Gouvernement Irlandois garde en dépôt les individus destinés au service Prussien.

TRANSLATION.

M. Balan to Mr. Wickham.

London, April 26, 1799.

M. Balan has the honour to present his compliments to Mr. Wickham, and to inform him that Captain de Schouler returned yesterday from

Ireland, after having examined such of the insurgents made prisoners as are fit to serve in the Prussian army in quality of private soldiers. This officer is now preparing to make his report to the King of the result of his proceedings; and it will not be till the answer and the ulterior orders of his Majesty arrive, that steps can be taken for the embarkation and transport of the recruits that Captain de Schouler shall have occasion to take. M. Balan therefore requests Mr. Wickham to have the goodness to arrange so that in the mean time the Irish Government shall keep in depôt the individuals destined for the Prussian service.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

[Without date—indorsed April, 1799.]

My dear Lord—I send a few of the English Acts, and a note on them and others. Paper was not restricted before 5 Geo. III. Scotland was then restricted to Notes above 20*s.*; that restriction is now suspended, and she may issue Notes for a shilling. England is limited to Notes of 20*s.* by 15 Geo. III., and of £5 by 17 Geo. III. These Acts, now suspended, except that, if any person refuses to pay Notes he has issued in cash under £5, he may be compellable by a justice, and be liable to costs of 20 shillings.

The Chancellor's Act prohibits the issue of Notes under three guineas entirely; this is not done in England. The Chancellor's Act permits the issue of three guinea Notes, and under five guinea Notes, under certain restrictions which were enacted in England by 17 Geo. III., as to Notes under £5, but which Act is now suspended. The Chancellor's Act enables a justice to force the payment of Notes under £5. This is at present in force in England.

Why go further than England? Why forbid the issue of small Notes which England permits, and not leave every person the power of enforcing the payment of small notes in cash, if he pleases, as in England?

If bankers in London do not issue small Notes, country bankers in England do. Why give a monopoly to the Bank, which has never assisted Government nor trade? Why

destroy the competition of private bankers who have assisted trade?

I answer—The quantities of paper issuing by the private bankers are enormous and dangerous, and the forgeries destructive.

The private bankers make Bank of Ireland Notes their capital, by which means nine paper capitals may be issued for one in cash, which leads to general bankruptcy; or, if the Bank, aware of the practice of the bankers, do not issue their usual quantity of paper, it follows that the National Bank is crippled, and that their capital is used to their ruin.

The Bank can never relieve trade or Government under the present system. The Bank can never open again and pay in specie, unless it can judge of the quantity of paper in the market.

If bankers are forced to issue only £5 Notes, they are brought back to the situation where they stood before the Bank stopped payment.

The bankers will still have the power of trading on the National Bank capital in sums above £5.

Your Lordship might inquire from the National Bank the state of their trade. They ought to have from £1,200,000 to £1,500,00 in Notes in the market.

I understand the small Notes under 20*s.* issued at Cork are of a bad kind.

I hear the Bank of Ireland, in order to employ their capital, have been reduced to deal in national securities.

E. C.

Mr. Nepean to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Admiralty, May 1, 1799.

My Lord—I avail myself of the detention of the messenger, for the purpose of obtaining an order for an extra packet-boat, to mention to your Lordship a few circumstances relative to the French fleet.

By Lord Bridport's report to me, it appears the enemy's fleet had been seen in a state of preparation on the 25th, and, according to the account of the officers sent to reconnoitre, consisting of 18 or 19 ships of the line, and 9 or 10 frigates and sloops. The whole got under sail on the morning of the 26th, when the weather was so foggy, that the frigate sent to look into Brest could hardly see her own length, and was in some danger of being taken, having approached so near to the enemy. It also appears to have been doubted whether the fleet would not have endeavoured to recover its anchorage; and, under that impression, it appears that the fleet under Lord Bridport did not leave the station off Brest till he had sent one of his cruisers to look in the next morning; when only one ship appeared to be left in the road.

Lord Bridport had with him either 16 or 17 ships of the line; two sailed to join his Lordship on the 26th or 27th from Spithead, and two more have been ordered from Plymouth; but, in the event of his meeting the enemy, the probability is that he will fight him with 17 sail, viz. 5 of three decks and 12 of two decks. I send this hasty scrawl for your own private information.

Believe me to be, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

Mr. Nepean to Lord Castlereagh.

Admiralty Office, May 1, 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, the copy of a letter which I have despatched by a messenger to Admiral Kingsmill.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

Admiralty Office, May 1, 1799.

Sir—I am commanded, by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to acquaint you that, by advices received from

Admiral Lord Bridport, dated the 27th inst., it appears that the enemy's fleet had sailed from Brest in considerable force on the morning of the 26th, and that, owing to the thick fog, the frigate which had been appointed to reconnoitre had lost sight of the enemy; that his Lordship had determined, in consequence, to proceed with his whole force off Cape Clear in quest of the enemy, and was, at the time of his closing his despatch, making the best of his way thither. It did not appear that any transports were with the enemy's fleet at the time of its sailing.

I send this intelligence by a special messenger, that you may be apprized, as early as possible, of these circumstances, and guard, as far as may be in your power, against any mischief which the enemy may meditate. Since this intelligence has reached their Lordships, orders have been sent to the commanders of the two ships named in the margin (Ramillies, Robust) to sail immediately from Plymouth to join Lord Bridport off Cape Clear; and I have it farther in command to signify their direction to you to send notice thereof to his Lordship, that he may leave such orders as he may think proper for their commanders, in the event of his quitting that station.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

PS. If the Polyphemus should be in a condition to put to sea, you are to order her commander to join Lord Bridport on his appearance on the coast.

Mr. Nepean to Lord Castlereagh.

Admiralty Office, May 3, 1799.

My Lord—I am commanded, by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to send your Lordship enclosed, for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, copy of a letter transmitted to them by Mr. Secretary Dundas from

Captain d'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, relative to the equipment of the Brest fleet and other particulars.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

EVAN NEPEAN.

Jersey, April 29, 1799.

Sir—I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency enclosed a detailed state of the armament at Brest, as it was taken on the 15th inst. (the list contains the names of 30 ships, being nearly the whole number that were at Brest.) The number of troops on board each line-of-battle-ship has been limited to 150 men, mostly composed of the Belgic conscription and German deserters; and it does not appear that there are any more detained at Brest for embarkation. All the cannoniers, matelots, and soldats de la marine, who did the duty of the town and forts, as well as the able-bodied workmen of the arsenal, have been embarked to assist to make up the crews, which will convey to your Excellency an idea of the difficulty they experience to man their fleet, and of the composition of their crews. They make a sort of parade and demonstration of intending soon to put to sea, and it is circulated amongst the officers that Cadiz is the place of their destination; but it is, with some foundation, expected that this report is circulated more to tranquillize the partizans of Buonaparte by an appearance of an effort towards the Mediterranean with a view to succour him, than to be a very determined plan. The division of Redon, by boarding each other in Bertheaume Road, suffered so much as to oblige the line-of-battle ships to return into the Road, while the frigates pushed out to the southward, to meet a rich convoy from Bourdeaux, for which three of them were waiting under Belleisle.

The crews of the ships in Brest Road are near complete as to numbers, but very small indeed with respect to professional seamen. One of their commissaries has calculated that every quintal of rope and cables which they have received by land has cost the Republic, before it got in the arsenal, from 25 to

30 louis d'ors, near £500, a ton. Your Excellency will judge, from this *true data*, what their distress and resources in plunder to provide such exorbitant expences must have been; but their every credit and confidence from and at the other seaports are exhausted, and it will require the imperious despotism of their requisition and maximum to procure the least resource there in future.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Private. Dublin Castle, May 4, 1799.

My Lord—Although the business in Parliament is not yet altogether finished, so as to admit of its being adjourned, yet I have thought it expedient to transmit the Speech for your Grace's consideration, that your Grace may have full time to model that part of it which refers to the Union, and which is of so important and delicate a policy in the present state of the question. I have endeavoured to mark the utmost determination which appeared compatible with the respect due to the decision of the Commons, and to express, on the part of his Majesty, the fixed purpose of bringing the subject again under the consideration of his Irish Parliament, without pledging himself as to the period.

In adverting to the extraordinary extent of the Supplies, I have endeavoured to point the attention of Parliament to the necessity of making hereafter corresponding exertions with those of Great Britain, to meet the exigencies of affairs, and to impress on the public mind that we were dependent on Great Britain for the means of our present security. I have avoided pointing to the measure of an Income tax in more direct terms, lest the enemies of a Union should succeed in poisoning the public mind on this subject, before we have an opportunity of submitting it to Parliament.

The varying events on the Continent, and the issue of the

present expedition (which will, I trust, prove glorious to his Majesty's arms), may render considerable alterations requisite in the early part of the Speech. The whole is merely sketched for the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers, and I am confident it will receive from your Grace every necessary correction. I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, May 4, 1799.

My Lord—Your Grace's despatch of the 1st, communicating the intelligence of the enemy's fleet having sailed from Brest on the 25th, was received this forenoon at 12 o'clock. I lost no time in making the necessary arrangements for giving them the best reception in my power, should they happen to escape the vigilance of Lord Bridport's fleet.

I have the honour to enclose, for your Grace's information, a sketch of the distribution of the force at present under my command, as also of the private instructions which have been given to the Generals commanding districts, from which your Grace will perceive the stationary as well as moveable force, which the present situation of the army enables me to oppose, on the different points of attack, to the enemy.

The Warwick and Suffolk regiments, having been fortunately detained in the Bay by contrary winds, were this day disembarked, and will, if occasion should call for their services, form a valuable addition to my force.

I have directed the yeomanry throughout the kingdom to be placed on permanent duty, in order to guard against the early enterprises of the disaffected, on its being understood that the enemy are at sea.

From the arrangements which I have been enabled to make and the general state of the army, I feel confident that I shall be enabled successfully to oppose the force which the enemy may be presumed to have on board; but, should they succeed

in effecting a landing, lest untoward circumstances should arise (which it is necessary to be prepared for in the present state of the kingdom), I confide in the assurances which your Grace gives me, that I may expect to be speedily and effectually reinforced from Great Britain.

His Majesty may depend on every exertion of mine being zealously directed to secure this kingdom against the designs of the enemy. I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, May 8, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have much satisfaction in informing your Lordship that, contrary to my expectation, the King of Prussia has consented to receive the Irish recruits. His intention was formally notified by a letter from M. Balan yesterday, and M. Schouler will be sent back to Ireland without loss of time. In the mean time, the Duke of Portland would be glad to know where and when they can be embarked, and whether any measures to that effect have been taken in Ireland.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, May 9, 1799.

My dear Lord—The Lord-Lieutenant's very interesting despatches of the 4th and 5th were received this morning, together with two letters from your Lordship and from Mr. Cooke, the whole by the Admiralty Messenger.

The Duke of Portland will write fully to the Lord-Lieutenant as soon as he shall find himself warranted in forming an opinion on the destination of the Brest fleet. At present, his Grace has no grounds to go upon, and wishes therefore not to give his own conjectures to the Lord-Lieutenant, for fear of misleading.

I have carefully examined all the reports that have been received in my department from Holland, and it appears to me most evident that, at the time the instructions were given to the Captain of the Rebecca, it was intended that an expedition should sail from the Texel, and equally so that this expedition was soon after countermanded. There exist the strongest reasons to induce me to believe, that the original destination of the whole was Ireland; but whether the destination of the Brest fleet was changed when the expedition from the Texel was countermanded is more than I can presume to say. It has been found impossible to decipher the letter found on board the Rebecca.

The undermentioned ships will proceed immediately to the coast of Ireland: the two first were ordered there on Tuesday, the remaining four to-day—Royal Sovereign, 110; Atlas, 98; Formidable, 98; Triumph, 74; Canada, 74; Agincourt, 64.

A large body of troops will be collected in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth, ready to send over to Ireland on the first appearance of the French fleet on the Irish coast. Now that the wind is in the West, I trust that we shall not be long without having certain tidings of the enemy.

I remain, with unfeigned regard, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Private and Secret. Whitehall, May 10, 1799.

My dear Lord—The enclosed despatch from the Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant was sent down to me yesterday from Burlington House a moment after Basilico had set out. I did not think it worth while to send off a second Messenger, as I had given a note of the intelligence on which it was founded to Mr. Nepean, who enclosed it to Lord Bridport under a flying seal to your Lordship, and sent it by Basilico. It was communicated to me after my letter to your Lordship by the same Messenger was made up.

This morning advices have been received that the Spanish fleet, consisting of five sail of the line, was actually cruising off Ferrol on the 28th ultimo; on the same day, the Brest fleet, consisting of seventeen sail, was met by a neutral ship, steering S.W., Cape Pinas, then bearing W. by S., so that, had the wind shifted to the westward in the course of that or the following day, they could not possibly have doubled Cape Ortegal. As it is, the junction *may* have been effected about the 1st or 2nd, though possibly not before the 3rd or 4th.

There is every reason to believe that the Rebecca was sent to sea for the purpose of being taken. Further details respecting her capture have been received here to-day, from which it appears not only that she made no resistance, but that she might easily have avoided the Black Joke.

Information has been received to-day from Brest, from which it appears that it was generally believed in that port that the division of Admiral Redon was to separate from the rest of the fleet, and make for Ireland. Your Lordship will find frequent mention made of the division of Admiral Redon, in the intelligence I have from time transmitted to you from that quarter.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Mr. George Miller to Lord Castlereagh.

College, May 11, 1799.

My Lord—Having within these few days heard that Government are now seriously intent on executing the plan of a College at Armagh, I am induced, by my respect for your Lordship and my anxious desire for promoting the improvement of Education, to trouble your Lordship with a few observations on the subject. These, my Lord, are the result of the practical experience of ten years, aided by conversations with those who were connected with me in the same system of instruction, and every inquiry which I could make concerning the methods adopted in the Universities of Great Britain.

I would observe, in the first place, that the several plans adopted in the Universities of England, Scotland, and Ireland, appear to be possessed of distinct advantages, and to labour under distinct defects. It is notorious that classical knowledge is cultivated with eminent success in Oxford; but it will scarcely be proposed at this time to institute a seminary so exclusively devoted at this time to the knowledge of ancient literature. We have, however, in that respect, much to acquire, and perhaps it may appear that the acquisition is not incompatible with a due attention to other parts of academic education. The regard paid to mathematical learning in Cambridge has most deservedly procured for that University a very high reputation. Two defects, however, may, I think, be discovered in the system there adopted. One of these is, that monopoly of respect which is given to the cultivation of an abstract science. The other is, that the system seems better adapted to bringing forward a few very eminent scholars than to diffusing a moderate degree of instruction among the mass of students. Those who are termed "Candidates for Honours" are stimulated to very superior exertions by the opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the examinations which they voluntarily sustain; but, if I have not been misinformed, the greater part of each class are allowed to graduate without much anxiety about their literary acquisitions. Though, in this country, we have been accustomed to hold in little estimation the mode of education practised in the Scotch Universities, it appears to possess, in some respects, a superiority over our own. To teach wholly by oral instruction seems indeed to be a very imperfect method of conveying information, in an age in which books on every subject may easily be procured. It seems rather fitted for giving vague and popular views of the general outline of a science than for impressing the minds of youth with distinct conceptions, and training them to habits of accurate reasoning. But in this way the lecturer is both enabled and required to propose to his hearers every novelty in the progressive im-

provement of the subject on which he lectures; and, though some of his hearers may be unable to follow him through the whole of his observations, yet almost all will catch, from the extended view of the subject, an interest in the inquiry. The advantages, therefore, of this method are, that it is progressive with the sciences which it explains, and that it excites a more lively interest in the pursuits of philosophy. Its defect is that it is ill adapted to impressing an accurate and scientific knowledge of elementary principles and forming habits of connected reasoning. Indeed, the Scotch system is liable to another important objection. As the Universities of that country are superintended only by professors and not by tutors, there is no discipline, no inspection of the private conduct of the students. The orderly habits of the country, and the dispersion of the students through the towns, prevent any riotous consequences; but, except where it is checked by the poverty of the students, I believe there is much debauchery.

Our own mode of education possesses, I am persuaded, some considerable advantages, and greater than it appears to possess. It is more substantial than specious. Still, however, I think that it might receive essential improvements. It inculcates, with considerable accuracy, during four years, the elements of every branch of Science, and a grammatical knowledge of a considerable quantity of Greek and Latin. This must certainly be attended by the very material advantage of inducing habits of regularity and precision of thinking; but it excites little love for literature, and has, therefore, little tendency to eminent distinction. The young mind is harassed by the frequent repetition of the same elementary treatises of Science, and is not interested by an enlarged view of the general progress of any. The Lectures of the Professors of Natural Philosophy do indeed form a useful exception to this observation. But they afford only a partial remedy. They are extraneous to the course of study, to which the attention of the students is particularly directed, and by which alone collegiate distinction is ascertained. Nor

have students of industry and ability an opportunity, as in Cambridge, of evincing superior attainments by submitting to a more extensive examination. All are confined within the same limits, and a young man of the brightest genius is employed in the same elementary study with the rest of his class.

Our system is disadvantageous to the tutors as well as to the pupils. Consisting almost entirely of private instruction, it obliges every tutor to teach everything, and consequently leaves little leisure or disposition for application to any favourite pursuit.

What I would propose is to combine into one system the several advantages of all those which have been mentioned. This is, I am persuaded, very practicable, without incurring any danger of their disadvantages. For this purpose, agreeably to a scheme suggested to me by a learned friend, I would confine the course of mere elementary information to two years instead of four. During these two years, Logic and the elements of Geometry and Algebra might be sufficiently taught according to the present mode of private lectures and quarterly examinations. With these might be combined, as at present, a sufficient quantity of the Greek and Latin Classics and Ancient History. The only material alteration which I would propose is a diminution of the quantity of Greek and Latin. This I would recommend for the sake of Classical Learning. The quantity in our course is so great that the preparation for the classical part of an examination is almost unavoidably a matter of drudgery rather than of taste. When the students had passed with sufficient credit through this preparatory course, they should be considered as qualified for the subsequent one, which should occupy the third and fourth year, and be conducted by the Public Lectures of Professors. In the third year, they might successively attend the lectures of the Professors of Astronomy and Natural Philosophy; and might, at the same time, receive from other Professors further improvement in Classical Learning; and, in the fourth year, they

might, in the same manner, attend the lectures in Ethics and the Evidences of Christianity, and continue to attend Classical Lectures. There should also be a course of Lectures for the higher branches of Mathematics, given by a Professor; but it is equally true of a mathematician as of a poet, that he must be the work of Nature; attendance on this course should be voluntary, as it is in our University. On account of its obvious importance, I would recommend the establishment of a professorship of Natural History, for the instruction of such students as should voluntarily attend. The subject would be sufficiently interesting to procure a numerous attendance.

This plan would combine with that of our own system the advantage of the Scotch plan of professorial lectures. The students might, in the two former years, be sufficiently trained to the accuracy of elementary education, and in the latter acquire those enlarged and interesting views of the different branches of study which our own system fails to furnish.

To unite with this scheme the advantages of English education, I would adopt, but on an extended scale, the examinations for honours held at Cambridge. For all who had not caught an ambition of distinction, it should be sufficient that they had passed the elementary examinations of the first and second year, and had received certificates of diligent attendance on the lectures of the professors during the third and fourth. In this way, they could not but have received some useful information. For those who had better availed themselves of the opportunities which they had enjoyed, there should be examinations similar to those at Cambridge, but with this improvement, that they should not be exclusively appropriated to mathematical learning. Every student desirous of graduating with respectability should have an option of being examined in any one of three courses, of which one should consist of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, another of Logic and Ethics, and a third of Classical Learning. This would hold out encouragement to every student of talent and diligence to employ his leisure

during the suspension of examinations in the two latter years, in improving himself in any department of literature in which he might feel a disposition to excel; and the classical taste of Oxford might thus perhaps, in time, be successfully cultivated in the same seminary with the mathematics of Cambridge.

The importance of the subject will, I hope, plead my apology for trespassing thus far on the attention of your Lordship. If these hints should receive your Lordship's approbation, it would afford me considerable pleasure to draw out a more extended scheme: but, as I am desirous of avoiding any occasion of offending those who may be more attached to our own mode of education, I request that it may be as little known as possible that I have taken the liberty of recommending any deviation from it.[1] I have the honour to be, &c.,

GEORGE MILLER.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, May 12, 1799.

My dear Lord—The Duke of Portland being at Bulstrode, I feel it necessary that I should inform your Lordship without delay that instructions have been sent to the Attorney and Solicitor-General to prepare for the Great Seal the drafts of the two Commissions suggested by the Lord-Lieutenant in his Excellency's despatch of the 6th instant, namely, one to enable Commissioners, in the Lord-Lieutenant's absence, to give the royal assent to the Bills now before Parliament; the other, in case—which God forbid!—any accident should happen to his Excellency, to vest the Government at once in the hands of Lords Justices. The Commissions will be made out respectively to the persons suggested by his Excellency, and to the first will be added a clause empowering the Commissioners to prorogue Parliament in case of necessity. I have the honour, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

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[1] A plan proposed for the intended College at Armagh will be found in the Supplement to 1798.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, May 14, 1799.

My Lord—The precaution manifested by your Excellency in your despatch of the 6th instant was so much approved by the King, that I received his Majesty's immediate commands to consult his law servants on the proper means of appointing Commissioners to signify the royal assent to such Bills as may be returned from hence, in case of your Excellency's necessary absence from Dublin at the time they may be ready to be passed, and to acquaint you that it is his pleasure that the name of the persons proposed by your Excellency should be inserted in the Commission, with all the usual powers with which similar Commissioners are entrusted in this kingdom.

As your Excellency very justly observes, that, by your patent as Lieutenant-General and General-Governor of Ireland, the civil and military government of that kingdom are equally confided to you, and that, in case of the enemy's landing, you should put yourself at the head of the troops, in conformity to what you suppose, and what certainly would be, the wish of his Majesty, I have the honour to inform you that your suggestion respecting the expediency of having a dormant Commission for the appointment of Lords Justices has also received his Majesty's entire approbation, and that a patent is making out for that purpose to the Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Shannon, but to take effect only in the event of any suspension of the Executive Government. I had the advantage of some conversation on this subject with the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, during the residence he made here in the course of the last autumn, the purport of which I had communicated to the King's confidential servants, and submitted to his Majesty, whose sanction it had so far received as for me to be in possession of the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General upon it, and it will accordingly be prepared without loss of time. I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

The Bishop of Meath to Mr. Marshall.

May 14, 1799.

My dear Marshall—Enclosed I send you a Protest, which I have drawn up for Meath, and which Colonel Burrowes is exerting himself here to get signed by persons having property in the County. The list will be very considerable, both as to property and respectability. It is much better, in my opinion, that this should be managed by these gentlemen themselves than to let Government appear, or any person who might be supposed to be connected with it.

With respect to home, Colonel Burrowes is sending copies of the Protest over for signature; but whether that is the way you will like to be pursued, you are the best judges. It may cause jealousies to have it sent about in that way; and I conclude that, if Lord Castlereagh approves the Protest, it will be sent to Lord Bective,[1] and others, who have extensive influence, and whose co-operation may be relied on. I shall take care to represent to the Clergy how essentially they, above all others, are interested in the success of the measure.

I have not heard any thing new this day. The master of a vessel that often runs to Morlaix, says, that the general conversation there was that the French fleet was doubly officered, for the purpose of supplying the Spaniards, and forcing them to put to sea in conjunction with their fleet. But we shall have little fear from Spanish seamen, commanded by Frenchmen, nor do I foresee any danger from any destination they may have, provided they do not land a large army in Ireland.

Yours, &c.,

T. L. Meath.

Protest.

We, the undersigned Noblemen, Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Meath, having thoroughly considered the purport of certain Resolutions pub-

[1] Thomas, second Earl, created in 1800 Marquess of Headfort.

lished in the newspapers, and assuming to be the sense of the County on the proposal of a Legislative Union with Great Britain, feel it a justice we owe ourselves to protest against such assumption, and to claim a right of expressing our own judgment on a measure that so materially affects our general and individual interests.

We cannot contemplate the various disasters and calamities that have so uniformly succeeded each other, for such a series of years, in this distracted country, without being impressed with a conviction that something is essentially and radically defective in our political system, and that some more effectual measures must be resorted to than have been hitherto provided to remedy the evils to which the public state is so constantly exposed.

In the proposal of a Legislative Union, as promising to be conducive to this happy end, we see nothing to alarm us for our independence or our interests; nor can we comprehend how such a measure can be either injurious or degrading to either of the coalescing parties, while the terms, both as to Constitution and Commerce, are to be discussed and settled by each nation, exercising its own independent powers of deliberation and decision.

We agree with some of the best and wisest men in both kingdoms in conceiving the strongest hopes that a Union so attained would remove every cause of distrust and jealousy between the two countries; that it would consolidate the power and resources of the Empire, and preclude the common enemy from all hope of converting our divisions into an instrument of separation; that it would open a prospect of composing those religious dissensions to which we can trace so much of the public misery; and that it would introduce among our people English capital, English manufacture, English industry, habits, and manners.

Under these impressions, we trust that, whenever his Majesty shall, in his wisdom, think proper to communicate to our

Legislature the result of the enlightened and temperate deliberations of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain on this momentous question, it will be received with the attention that is due to the common Sovereign and to the Parliament of a country with which we wish to be for ever united in affections and interests; and we expect that, in giving it a full and dispassionate discussion, our representatives will manifest to both kingdoms that they have nothing in view but the peace and prosperity of Ireland, as essentially inseparable from the peace and prosperity of the Empire.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, May 17, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a letter which has been received from Vice-Admiral Dickson, commanding his Majesty's squadron off the Texel, together with an Extract of a letter therein referred to from Captain Bligh, of his Majesty's ship Director, giving an account of the observations they had severally made of the state of the enemy's force in the Texel; and I have to request that your Lordship will lay the same before the Lord-Lieutenant, for his Excellency's information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Vice-Admiral Dickson to Mr. Nepean.

Monarch, at Sea, May 11, 1799.

Sir—It being very clear weather, I have, this evening, had a very good sight of the enemy in the Texel, and find that two of their ships that were in the New Deep are advanced down into the Mars Deep, so that the number which appear in a state for putting to sea are fifteen, but whether inclined to come out or not I cannot determine: however, they seem to have something in view, as they never appeared to be in a

greater state of activity, which exactly agrees with the accounts from the Brill of the enemy's motions there. We were this evening not more than seven miles from the enemy.

I am, &c.,

ARCH. DICKSON.

Enclosed I send the Extract of a letter from Captain Bligh, of the Director.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Bligh, dated May 11, 1799.

I have kept close by the land during the fog, and nothing can have escaped me. Early this morning, I had a tolerably good sight of the enemy, and observed that two of the four ships which were in the New Deep, and mentioned in my report, are now advanced into the Mars Deep; so that my account now stands fifteen in the Mars Deep, and two in the New Deep. They have had their sails loose to-day—some hoisted up. One ship, in particular, has been hoisting and lowering top-masts and studding sails to teach their men.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, May 18, 1799.

My Lord—Having laid before the King Mr. Freeling's letter to Mr. Wickham, of the 11th instant, a copy of which Lord Castlereagh will have communicated to your Excellency, relative to a plan for the more speedy conveyance of despatches between London and Dublin during the present emergency, his Majesty was graciously pleased to express his approbation of it, and of the measures which had been taken for carrying it into execution; but, at the same time, to signify his pleasure that this establishment be strictly confined to the conveyance of official despatches from the Government of one country to the other; and I have signified to the Postmaster-General his Majesty's commands that they do, on no account, suffer any private letters from any person whatever to be forwarded from

either country by this conveyance, and I have no doubt that your Excellency will afford their Lordships every assistance in your power which can enable them to carry his Majesty's commands into effect.

I am, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Dr. Hales[1] *to* ———.

Killesandra, May 18, 1799.

Dear Sir—You were pleased to express your approbation of some Hints I formerly sent you. I have since considerably extended and enlarged them. They have grown into "Queries Political and Philosophical on the First Principles of Political Society and Civil Government," leading to—

1. A Detection of Locke's fundamental misrepresentations of the Origin of Civil Society and Constitution of Civil Government, and the Revolutionary Corollaries of Priestley, Price, Rousseau, &c.

2. A Vindication of Hooker, Milton, and Molyneux, from favouring such doctrines, by partial and unfair quotation and perversion of their meaning.

3. That the measure of Union is "no Innovation" nor violation of the Parliamentary independence of Ireland, in the opinion of Molyneux.

4. That the modification of Poyning's Act, in 1782, was absurd and impolitic, on the principles of Molyneux.

5. That the over-liberal grant of the Elective Franchise, in 1793, was a dangerous Innovation, subversive of the Constitution of 1709, and the Protestant ascendency, and British connexion.

6. That the grand principle of Parliamentary Representation,

[1] William Hales, D.D., Rector of Killesandra, Fellow and Professor of Oriental Languages in Trinity College, Dublin. It does not appear to whom this letter was addressed, probably to Mr. Cooke, or Mr. Marshall.

all the world over, was not Population, but Property, or Taxation; illustrated from ancient Republics, and the British Constitution, and Scottish Union.

7. The relative Constitutions of France and Great Britain—the misery of the former, and the prosperity of the latter, from Rose, &c.

This is a cursory sketch of some of the leading points, discussed summarily, but I trust not superficially.

Administration, I understand, circulated 10,000 copies of Mr. Pitt's Speech, and they did wisely. These "Queries" are meant as an enlarged comment on the liberal principles he advances upon a great scale. If Administration would think it worth their while to accept a tract, not written in the spirit of party—ministerial or anti-ministerial—but by an honest student and citizen of the world, who has more enlarged views of liberal education, national prosperity, &c., than the mere question of Union—although that, at the present crisis, is a momentous consideration, on which the "Queries" may throw new and more favourable light—the result of serious and dispassionate inquiry and rational conviction.

If these be topics which deserve no superficial discussion, and, if well supported, due circulation, you will please to communicate this proposal and acquaint me with the result. If you think that I may employ my time better than in such visionary speculations, which will not be seconded or supported, acquaint me also, and soon, in kindness to

Yours faithfully,

W. H.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Pitt.

Private. Dublin Castle, May 21, 1799.

My dear Sir—I am happy to be enabled to state to you that the loan of two millions has been this day contracted for by Mr. White, at a trifle above the market-price of Stock, the Five per Cents. being at 75, and the subscriber agreeing to

a Treasury Bill for £24 15*s.*, which gives us the money at about £6 4*s.* 9*d.* per cent.; the Treasury Bill to be payable on the 24th of June, 1801. I enclose for your information a memorandum of the biddings of the several parties. I trust, under all the circumstances of the country, this loan, both in point of extent and terms, will meet your approbation.

I have the satisfaction also to inform you that the part taken by Government in support of the Bill for regulating the issue of small notes has led to an understanding with the Bank, which is likely to secure from that quarter a greater degree of accommodation than we have been in the habit of receiving. They have, on the late emergency, advanced £300,000, in addition to the £700,000 outstanding, and agreed to take Treasury Bills for the whole sum, repayable on the 24th of June, 1800. We have thus had the good fortune to secure the utmost amount to which I had any expectation that their advances could be pushed, and for a longer period than that to which they could be prevailed to consent in the course of last year.

Although any specific engagement that no further loan should be raised in the Irish market within the year has been declined by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet I feel it my duty to state to you that it is his decided opinion that no further resource can be expected from hence; and when the extent of the loan and the advance from the Bank are considered, and compared with that of former years, you will be disposed to give credit to his statement.

I have, &c., C.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

London, May 23, 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour to return to your Excellency enclosed the draft of your intended speech at putting an end to the present Session, with such alterations as have appeared advisable to his Majesty's confidential servants to be recommended for your Excellency's adoption.

As the paragraph respecting the situation of affairs on the Continent was liable to have some of its statements called in question, and in some instances indeed to have been contradicted, it seemed most prudent to avoid details, to confine ourselves to a general assertion, which happily cannot be controverted, and to support it by referring to the conduct and successes of our two imperial allies, which are equally important and notorious.

Your Excellency, I am persuaded, will not disapprove the terms in which it is suggested to convey the opinion you entertain of the liberality with which this country will be always disposed to assist the sister kingdom, and you will, I trust, concur with us in thinking that it is more consistent that such a sentiment should be expressed in the shape of a hope than with any greater degree of confidence.

The necessary independence of the Lord-Lieutenant on the Irish Parliament appeared to us to require the omission of your Excellency's reference to your own responsibility in the security you hold out for the due administration of the extraordinary powers with which you have been entrusted: I have, therefore, only to observe upon the last article respecting the great measure of a Union (on the success of which, I believe, the tranquillity, prosperity, and happiness of Ireland essentially depend) that, in the communication your Excellency is directed to make, it appears to us that you cannot too closely follow the words as well as the sentiments which have been used by his Majesty and his Parliament of this kingdom upon the subject, and you will accordingly find that the words which I have taken the liberty of substituting in the place of those in which you had proposed to express yourself are, as nearly as possible, copied from the joint Address of the two Houses, and those of his Majesty's most gracious answer. As this communication is of a nature paramount to that of all other political subjects, and is made, moreover, by the King's express command, it should seem that it should be treated with a solemnity due to

its magnitude, and not be mixed with any inferior or temporary considerations. I therefore have to advise your Excellency to pass over in silence the difference which showed itself in the two branches of the Irish Parliament respecting this measure; and to profess only to look forward to that event which shall realize the hopes and wishes which are so emphatically expressed by his Majesty, and for which purpose the paragraph has been brought into the form in which I have herewith the honour of transmitting it to you.

I cannot conclude without offering your Excellency my warmest congratulations on the uninterrupted succession of glorious events which have attended the arms of his Majesty's Imperial Allies since the commencement of the present campaign, and expressing an anxious but confident hope that the fate of the French fleet will be such as will deprive them of the right of being considered as a maritime power, and annihilate their means of giving uneasiness to his Majesty's Government in Ireland.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, May 24, 1799.

My Lord—The business of the Session being now gone through, and the Parliament upon the point of being prorogued, I feel it necessary to recall your Grace's attention to the line of conduct to be pursued toward those gentlemen holding offices under the King's Government who have resisted the question of Union.

Under the instructions conveyed to me by your Grace before the opening of the Session, namely, to bring forward and to enforce the measure with all the weight and energy of Government, I feel it indispensable to remove, even before the question came into discussion, Sir J. Parnell and the late Prime Serjeant, as holding offices peculiarly confidential.

Immediately after the unfavourable reception of the measure in the Commons, in communicating the particulars of the failure, I submitted to your Grace's consideration in detail such observations as appeared material with a view of determining how far the principle of removal ought to be pushed, and the names of the individuals who had separated from Government on that question.

In your Grace's despatch of the 3d of February, conveyed to me by Mr. Elliot, the principle laid down for the direction of my conduct was, in the first instance, to secure the strength of my administration, and with this reserve to exercise the authority of Government with as much decision as might be consistent with its stability. Such has been my course of proceeding, which I am resolved to pursue.

My measures have been and shall be entirely confined to the intimation given to Colonel Foster and Colonel Wolfe. I can with truth assure your Grace that it is not from any wish to avoid the utmost degree of responsibility to which my situation renders me liable, that I pursue this decision taken upon communication with your Grace, and the most mature consideration that his Majesty's confidential servants on both sides of the water can give it.

Your Grace, I am confident, will feel as I do, that in having resolved steadily and firmly to pursue this great measure of Union—a determination which every day's experience proves more incontestably to my understanding to be essential to the salvation of this country, and with it of the empire, we are approaching a period the most critical that has yet occurred to the principle of connection between these kingdoms.

There is an opposition in Parliament to the measure of Union, formidable in character and talents. Their numbers, though they have not proved equal to shake the Government, have, for the present, rendered the prosecution of the measure in Parliament impracticable. The removals in contemplation cannot fail to consolidate their party, and to render their future

exertions proportionably animated. An entire forbearance on the part of Government will probably be received rather as a mark of weakness than of conciliation, and perhaps deprive us of friends rather than procure converts. With the concurrence and advice of the King's confidential servants, I am prepared to employ every exertion in my power to bring it to a successful issue. He must be a bold, or rather a rash man, who would answer for either the public or parliamentary temper of this country; but, after weighing the subject with all the attention I am master of, I see no reason to despair of a successful issue, though the period may be delayed. After having gone so far, and the principle in question having in fact been already acted upon, I see no other alternative but to pursue the most decided line of conduct. Hesitation may dissolve much of our present strength, which may not perhaps be composed of materials to resist the impression which might be created by an appearance of timidity on the part of Government.

I again beg leave to repeat that, with your Grace's assistance, I am prepared and ready to do my best. I feel strongly the difficulties we have to encounter, but I do not despair of their yielding to the steady perseverance and united exertions of the Government in both countries.

I have the honour to be, &c.

PS. I think it necessary to apprize your Grace that, in estimating the supporters of the Union, Lord Downshire's friends are set down as they voted upon the late occasion. Lord De Clifford's[1] are reckoned amongst the doubtfuls. Your Grace will feel how much depends on an avowed declaration from the persons in question. I am sorry to say my information represents both as at best undecided. Were Lord Downshire to come forward, we should have the County of Down unanimous, and the authority of so leading a County could not fail to have a preponderating influence throughout the province.

[1] Edward, eighteenth Baron.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Whitehall, May 25, 1799.

My Lord—The desire your Excellency has expressed to know the opinion of the King's confidential servants respecting the exercise of the power vested in the Lord-Lieutenant of enabling members of the House of Commons to vacate their seats, by an appointment to the Escheatorship of Munster, makes it necessary for me to enter upon that subject much sooner than I had any thought of, and more at length certainly than I had any intention of doing.

It having occurred to me that this power, considering its recent origin, had not hitherto been exercised on principles which could as yet have become clearly understood and settled, I had had it in contemplation to make it a subject of conversation both with Mr. Pelham and Lord Castlereagh; and, in times of more leisure, I might possibly have troubled your Excellency yourself on the subject: but matters of so much more importance have occupied those moments which I have had the good fortune to pass with those gentlemen, in their official capacities, and my thoughts, in corresponding with your Excellency or Lord Castlereagh, have been so differently employed, that this subject has always escaped my recollection. But, as your Excellency calls upon me to furnish you with precedents, and to acquaint you with the wishes and opinions of the King's servants upon the expediency of refusing or acceding in future to applications of this description, I hope I shall be able to give you as much information as is necessary; more especially as the uniform practice of the last twenty years, from which we are not inclined to deviate, will render any information merely a matter of curiosity, except as it may tend to justify the conduct of your Government in the cases of Lieutenant-Colonel Cole and Mr. Tighe.

What may have been the practice of ancient times, I am not sufficiently informed of to say; but I strongly incline to

believe that the nomination to the Chiltern Hundreds (which was the model for your Escheatorships of Munster) was considered very much as a matter of favour, and so much so, that I doubt whether a person in opposition to Ministry would have thought himself entitled to ask for it. I rather think that instances of its being refused might be met with in Lord North's administration, previously to the case of Mr. Clerke Jervoise, who applied for it that he might be a candidate for the county of Hants, which set the ingenuity of parliamentary and professional men to look for other expedients by which a seat could be vacated, and so many presented themselves when the Civil List Act came to be looked into with that view, that it was no longer thought expedient or worth while to refute the specific means of vacating by an appointment to the Chiltern Hundreds, whenever it should be applied for. And, ever since that time, it has become quite a matter of course to give it as often as it is asked for, without any consideration whatever of the political opinions, or connexions, or views of the person who applies for it. The case probably may not be the same in Ireland as it is here, and there may not be the same facility in obtaining the means of vacating a seat there which is to be found in this country; but I know not how to think that the means are confined to the Escheatorship of Munster, and that there is no other office or any military agency, the acceptance of which will incapacitate or disqualify a member of the House of Commons from holding his seat in that House. But, admitting that the power of vacating a seat is solely in the hands of Government, it would not make any difference, in my opinion, with respect to the mode in which I should think the exercise of that power advisable, which, I have no scruple in saying, should be without distinction of persons; because I am not able to conceive a case where the refusal is not an invidious act, always open to objections, and liable, as in the case of Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, to be attacked on constitutional grounds: but, besides, I am not able to discover any advantage that

either Administration or the general cause of Government can derive from it. It will hardly be contended that an enemy will be kept out of the House by it, or that any object can be gained by it, which can compensate the obloquy and clamour which it must raise. I am convinced that there may be occasions where, in theory, the refusal to give the Escheatorship might be productive of real service to the public; but I should much doubt the result in practice, because I cannot imagine one which is not liable to be controverted and misrepresented, and to create jealousies and a degree of odium towards Government in the minds of the people which no consideration can counterbalance.

However, my Lord, as your Excellency is fully and unquestionably justified by the precedents of former times in this country, and by the practice which seems to have prevailed in Ireland since the Government has been in possession of the power in question, and by the principles and motives which have influenced your conduct on this occasion, you may depend upon the most unqualified and unreserved support which his Majesty's servants here can give you in maintaining and justifying your determinations in the cases of Lieutenant-Colonel Cole and Mr. Tighe. But, at the same time, I must desire you to consider of the best means of restraining this power to the same purposes, and exercising it in the same manner and form, as it is in the habit of being used in this kingdom, so as that the office may be granted in future according to the opinion expressed by your Excellency, namely, without any consideration of the politics of the individual who solicits it.

I must not close this letter without expressing the entire satisfaction of his Majesty's Ministers at Lord Castlereagh's conduct in the debate upon the subject. It seems to have been not only highly proper, but correct in the extreme, and such as must reflect as much honour upon him as an individual as in his public capacity. And, though there is no occasion on which he has taken a part in Parliament, in which the display

of his talents has not reflected equal honour on your Excellency's administration and himself, the decided superiority which he manifested in this debate, and the triumph obtained to the cause of Government, particularly mark it as an event upon which my best congratulations should be offered to your Excellency.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Bridport to Lord Castlereagh.

Royal George, Bantry Bay, May 25, 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that I arrived here yesterday with his Majesty's squadron under my command, for the purpose of completing the stores, provisions, and water of the several ships, as well as circumstances will admit. I have also received a copy of Mr. Nepean's letter to your Lordship, of the 13th instant, together with the despatch sent through Major-General Moore, which was forwarded to me by Major-General Nugent. Your Lordship will be pleased to forward to this Bay any information which you may judge it necessary to transmit to me.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

BRIDPORT.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, May 28, 1799.

My Lord—I have received and laid before the Duke of Portland your Lordship's letter of the 4th inst., signifying the Lord-Lieutenant's wish that John Campbell may be immediately sent to Ireland, and his Grace has not failed to give the necessary directions accordingly. I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship an extract of a letter from Captain Philip Hue, commanding his Majesty's Ship Actæon, which relates to another Irishman in custody on board that ship, on the subject of whom I wrote to your Lordship on the

1st inst., and I am to request that you will have the goodness to acquaint the Duke of Portland with his Excellency's wishes respecting him.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Philip Hue to Mr. Nepean.

His Majesty's Ship Actæon, Liverpool, May 16, 1799.

I beg you will be pleased to acquaint the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, on my joining his Majesty's Ship Actæon, I found the two men named in the margin (John Kelly Scarsfield, M. Fitzgerald) detained as prisoners, agreeably to his Lordship's orders to Lieutenant Aitchison of the 29th ult., and that I shall continue to keep them in close confinement until their Lordships' further pleasure is known respecting their disposal.

The Right Hon. George Rose to Lord Castlereagh.

Old Palace Yard, May 31, 1799.

My dear Lord—Mr. Coutts importunes me so much on the subject of Sir W. Newcomen's house remitting a part of the loan for Ireland, that I am compelled to mention it again to you; but I am so well aware, as I mentioned before, of the impropriety of any real interference on this side of the water in such matters, that I have not the remotest wish to involve you in the slightest difficulty about the business: have the goodness only at your leisure to enable me to show Mr. Coutts I did not neglect his request. Your loan of £2,000,000 has been made on very good terms.

We have lately been urged to apply to you about the arrears of the pensions of the Royal Family: they are here charged on the Consolidated Fund, and paid with the same punctuality as the dividends in the Funds; and Sir John Parnell undertook to make some such arrangement in the Irish Treasury.

The certainty of the French fleet being gone to the southward will, I trust, produce a good effect in Ireland, by showing the disaffected there that they are not the first object of the Great Nation.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE ROSE.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Private. Dublin Castle, June 3, 1799.

My Lord—Since I last had the honour of addressing your Grace, nothing of any moment has occurred which has not been communicated to your Grace in the Lord-Lieutenant's despatches. The general state of the country has been gradually improving since my Lord-Lieutenant was enabled to exercise Martial Law without the interference of the ordinary courts of justice, and there is every reason to hope that the steady application of this strong and necessary remedy, having already proved effectual to repress and diminish outrage, will have that impression upon the minds of the disaffected of the efficient powers of the State, when called for by the extent of their own crimes, as will make them cautious hereafter of engaging in a similar contest.

Your Grace will have observed, that no part of the kingdom has escaped the influence of the conspiracy, but that it has fortunately affected different quarters at different times. The disease seems to have a regular progress, as it is seldom at its height in opposite points of the kingdom at the same time: at first, it affected Ulster almost exclusively; it next appeared in Leinster, afterwards took possession of Munster, and ultimately extended itself to Connaught. The symptoms of convalescence appear in some degree to follow the same principle of succession, with this difference, that, as the treason has in a great measure connected itself with the religious contest, the same cause which perhaps prolongs the struggle in the South has accelerated its termination in the North. The

Protestant Dissenters in Ulster have in a great degree withdrawn themselves from the Union and become Orangemen.

The Northern Catholics, always committed in feeling against the Presbyterians, were, during the early period of the conspiracy, loyal. The religious complexion of the Rebellion in the South gradually separated the Protestants from the treason, and precisely in the same degree appeared to embark the Catholics in it. Defenderism was introduced, and it is principally under that organization, into which the most profligate of the Dissenters have been prevailed on to enter, that whatever there is of treason in the North is at present associated. They are destitute of leaders; and the people of substance, manufacturers as well as farmers, have withdrawn from them. The Province of Ulster comprises, at this moment, a numerous body of determined loyalists. Its yeomanry equals in numbers and far exceeds in effectiveness that of the other three provinces. They have of late been considerably augmented, and I am justified by the opinion of the officers commanding in that district in stating to your Grace that Ulster can be secured by its own yeomanry, and even furnish a considerable body of infantry, well adapted to serve as light troops, to act with the regular army against the common enemy. With the exception of some very cruel outrages, which have been perpetrated in the County of Antrim by a small banditti, the principals of which have been since apprehended, the North has not been for years more tranquil, or the people more industrious, and the linen manufacture never at any former period so prosperous.

I am sorry that the same disposition cannot be relied on in the other provinces. The examples which have been made, and are daily making, have, in a great measure, restored tranquillity; but the principles and inclinations of the lower orders are unreclaimed. The organization is much broken, but still enough of it remains and is encouraged by the inferior priests, to render a formidable insurrection inevitable, should the

enemy land in force. The removal of the State prisoners from Dublin had an immediate and sensible good effect. The late arrests, and the means opened through Prussia of getting rid of our convicts, has produced a strong impression; but nothing could have proved effectual but the power of summary punishment. It has completely settled the question of authority. Before this measure was adopted, between the system of terror established by the disaffected and the prospect of insecurity in the ordinary course of law, the power of the Rebels was rather looked up to for protection than that of the State.

The Lord-Lieutenant received yesterday by the express your Grace's despatch of the 30th. It is a great satisfaction to his Excellency to find that your Grace so perfectly coincides in opinion with him, as to the measures which it becomes the King's Government to take at this moment towards those gentlemen holding offices who have failed in what they owed the Crown on a late occasion. It is his Excellency's intention, before he dismisses them, to state to the principal friends of Government the grounds upon which the measure is taken, in order that they may be strongly impressed not only that this act of authority, which undoubtedly commits the Government with a very weighty and formidable party in the State, has his Majesty's entire sanction and that of his ministers, but that they have unequivocally the whole weight of the British Government at their back, in the contest in which they are engaged. I shall trouble your Grace, in a day or two, with some observations upon the state of parties as to Union.

In the mean time, I have the honour, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

The Earl of Altamont to ————.[1]

Westport House, June 5, 1799.

My dear Sir—I am infinitely obliged by your immediate attention to my letter. Regularity, though generally desirable,

[1] Probably Mr. Marshall.

and sometimes indispensable, is not always to be obtained, especially from great men about Dublin Castle.

In regard to the Union, I have got the names of most of the property of Mayo to it. Lord Lucan's[1] friends have been zealous in promoting it; Lord Tyrawley's have been as yet neutral, the O'Donells alone opposing: but they have not yet been able to influence one man of £100 a year, that I can trace.

If the Roman Catholics stand forward, it will be unwillingly; they are keeping back decidedly, but many will be influenced, and some few who connected themselves with the Protestants during the disturbance will be zealously forward on the present occasion. The priests have all offered to sign; and, though I am not proud of many of them as associates, I will take their signatures, to prevent a possibility of a counter-declaration. I hear the titular Archbishop has expressed himself inclined to the measure. This day, I have sent round to all the Catholics of property in the country: I may be mistaken, but, in my judgment, the wish of most of them would be to stand neuter; or perhaps, if they had any countenance, to oppose it—that is the fact. Several will sign from influence, some from fear; but the majority, I believe, will pretend that they have given opinions already, and can't decently retract them. You shall know exactly when I get to Dublin. Every man applied to, of all persuasions, wants to make it personal compliment.

I have found, to my infinite surprise, that the County and the town of Sligo, without the slightest interference, and against all their representatives, are decided friends to the Union. I know of no part of Ireland where the *unbiassed* mind of the public is so generally with it. When I see my way a little, I will set it a-going there. Roscommon is against it; but for that, the bulk, or, indeed the entire, of the province might be considered as pledged to the measure, or ready to be so.

[1] Richard, second earl, one of the representative peers of Ireland, after the Union.

The zeal and rancour of the parties on both sides is to be lamented: we are completely committed; and the beaten party must give up, for a considerable time, at least, power, consequence, even comfortable residence. We are such barbarians too that we cannot differ in opinion, even on politics, without quarrelling.

Many thanks for your news. We are here quite quiet, and I never saw the people more active in their industry. The high price of all commodities at market is a fine inducement to exertion, and a fortunate one too, while the minds of the multitude were balancing between labour and robbery.

Believe me, &c.,

ALTAMONT.

Captain Moon, in the Melampus, is, I understand, in Black Sod Harbour. The captain of the Revenue Cutter has prevailed upon the Commissioners to order the cutter from hence to Dublin, for repairs. Desire Mr. Cooke not to let him on any account be called away; he is of great use here in looking out, and his wants are mere pretext; but, at all events, can at any time be better done than now.

Lord Downshire to Lord Castlereagh.

June 8, 1799.

My Lord—I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter yesterday evening, in answer to which I beg leave to state that, from the appearance of the country, I think nothing is to be apprehended from the races being held at Downpatrick next month. Could I have been consulted, I should have preferred not having two meetings of the Royal Corporation of Horse-breeders in one year, but to have divided the two lapsed King's Plates so as to have three this year at the Maze, and next year three at Downpatrick; but, as the Corporation fixed otherwise, it had better be as they have determined. The only danger is, that a drop of whiskey may revive the ideas of

Yeoman and Orangeman, and Union Irishman and Papist, after the racing is over. Mr. Sharkey is a very important gentleman, and need not, I think, have troubled your Lordship. It is in general understood in the country that Lord Cornwallis would give the two lapsed King's Plates, that he had done so at the Curragh, and that had induced the Corporation of Horse-breeders to come to the resolution they did.

A man of the name of Rainey, for the apprehension of whom there is a reward offered, has offered to give himself up to me, and to give all the information in his power, acknowledges he was a United Irishman, a Lieutenant in Todd's company; that he was at the Ballynahinch battle, long before which time he repented of his conduct, and had withdrawn himself from all meetings; that, when he was ordered to join his company for the Saintfield fight, he withdrew to Drumara; that a message was sent there to him, that, if he did not immediately join, his father, mother, his wife and children, and the property of both, should be immediately destroyed, and he, if ever caught, should be hanged. Under these apprehensions, he returned home, and went to the Ballynahinch battle, from which he fled as soon as he possibly could. His father is a very decent countryman, as is his wife's father; neither of them was sworn, but loyal to the utmost extent: Rainey's uncles are also loyal, wealthy, well-behaved people. His wife has been shot through the leg, and his mother narrowly escaped being shot by the yeomen, who fired into the house; and the young man has been hiding ever since the affair of Ballynahinch. If his Excellency should think fit to grant this man a pardon, I can take bail for one or two thousand pounds for his good behaviour for any time. I have here stated all I know of this young man, which I have learned from his relations. If there are no farther informations, and of a graver nature, at the Castle against him, of which I know nothing, I think his pardon might be of use in Castlereagh, where he lives.

Whilst I have the pen in my hand, I beg leave to trespass upon your Lordship a little longer, to state a great grievance that this part of the world labours under, which, if possible, ought to be stopped, that is, the sale of the gold coin. When Government thought fit, two or three years ago, to encourage the circulation of Bank paper, that traffic began. I gave all the assistance I could to Government in their object, and took Bank paper in my office for rent, which I still continue to do, which, I believe, none of my neighbours do. I understand Lord Hertford, Lord Donegal, Lord Londonderry, &c., never have and do not take any paper for their rents; but now I cannot pay a bill to any tradesman in Belfast or the country, in Bank notes, without allowing from threepence to eightpence in every guinea. I understand it is the same in the pay of the army. The conduct of the Bank of Ireland is so illiberal, if not illegal, and, besides, take so little pains to stop forgeries upon them, that I shall no longer take their paper as rent in my office. There is scarce a remittance made to Dublin but two or three notes are returned as forged. They have left off defacing the note, indeed, as they used to do, by which a poor honest man lost eight five-pound notes that my agent recovered from him; but he had not taken the same precaution my agent did, as the notes were so defaced by an oiled red stamp that he could not swear to the paper, and those that he thought had paid them to him denied that these notes were those they paid him. I have ordered no notes to be taken, till some means are devised to prevent the gross imposition of paying for gold.

I beg pardon for troubling your Lordship with this long letter, but I thought it right to inform you of this last circumstance, as I deem it very injurious to the country, and there are scoundrels who go about the country collecting guineas from the poor people, and then sell them to the best advantage, and make a very profitable traffic.

I hope Lady Castlereagh is well; if she honours the Maze Races with her presence, I hope my house is so far finished as

to enable me to offer her and your Lordship a well-aired bed in Hillsborough.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DOWNSHIRE.

I beg leave to trouble you with a letter to Mr. Pollock, as no post letters are delivered in Dublin but to the officers of State, and it is on business that requires an answer as soon as possible. I should be obliged to your Lordship to decide what is to be done in the racing, if possible, by return of post.

The Roman Catholic Bishops of Scotland to Sir J. C. Hippisley.[1]

Edinburgh, June 19, 1799.

Most dear Sir — Only two days ago, the Lord Advocate found leisure to give us an audience, and this morning our affair was finally adjusted. Though you will probably know the terms on which matters were settled, we thought it our duty to let you know them from ourselves.

We are allowed such a sum for the support of our clergy as, with what we have of our own, will enable us to give each of them, according to our present number, £20 yearly, with a small balance to be reserved for other common exigencies, as mentioned to you in a former letter would be necessary. Each of the vicars get £100, and each of the coadjutors £50; also £50 are allowed for each of our Colleges, to help their yearly

[1] This gentleman, in early life, was engaged in the Company's service in India. On his return to Europe, he was employed in various diplomatic negociations, and created a baronet in 1796. He resided several years in Rome, and, from his acquaintance with the highest ecclesiastical personages there, obtained such an insight into the principles and practices of their Church as rarely falls to the lot of a foreigner, a layman, and a Protestant. The numerous papers from his pen inserted in this collection bear ample testimony to this effect. It was chiefly through his instrumentality that King George III. was induced to grant a provision to the Cardinal of York, the last of the Stuart race, who had been reduced almost to poverty by the French on their invasion of the papal territories.

support, and £600 are to be given to each, to defray the debts incurred in their erection. You will easily conceive how great a consolation this intelligence gave us, to see ourselves and our clergy, by this singular assistance from our generous benefactors, raised to a comfortable situation from almost absolute poverty. But what greatly enhanced the favour was the amiable and endearing manner in which his Lordship communicated the intelligence to us. He seemed even overjoyed to have had it in his power to do what he was pleased to call an act of justice. He did not omit giving us to know how much we were indebted to your exertions in our favour. This we well knew before, but we are very much at a loss to know how to express the feelings of our heart towards you, our best of friends.

Be assured, most dear sir, that we shall never forget what we owe to you for the disinterested friendship you have shown us; but, being unable to make any suitable return for so much goodness, all that remains is earnestly to recommend you and yours to that Supreme Being, who never fails amply to reward even a cup of cold water given to his servants in their distress, and who alone is able to reward you for the charity you have shown to us and our brethren.

We had some thoughts of writing a letter of thanks to our generous benefactors, his Majesty's Ministers; but, not being accustomed to write to those in their high station, and unwilling to intrude upon their precious time, we hope you will take the trouble to assure them of the grateful sense we have of their goodness and generosity, and that we shall never be wanting in giving every proof in our power of our loyal attachment to our most gracious Sovereign, and of promoting the same among our people, both on public and private occasions.

We have the honour to be, with every sentiment of gratitude and respect, most dear sir,

Your most obedient and most obliged humble servants,

GEORGE HAY.
JOHN CHISHOLM.

The Right Hon. George Rose to Lord Castlereagh.

Treasury Chambers, June 21, 1799.

My dear Lord—I am really concerned to trouble you about small matters, but it is unavoidable from the incessant applications we have about the Princes and the Naval Peers. No difficulty will be made here about the King's letter to exempt the Pensions of the latter from the Absentee Tax, if there is a power to enable it: the enclosed paper, marked Ireland, contains a statement by one of the clerks in this office of the two Acts, and notes of Mr. Coutts under it. Pray have the goodness to let me know what is to be done to have the point settled; you will see by that gentleman's letter we shall have no peace till it is.

Most truly yours, &c.,

GEORGE ROSE.

The Enclosure marked "Ireland."

By the Act 38 George III., Cap. 5, a Tax of Four Shillings in the Pound is charged on all Salaries, Profits of Employments, Fees, and *Pensions*, between 25th of March, 1798, and 25th of March, 1799, unless the person do and shall live and actually reside within that kingdom for and during the space of six months. The Royal assent was given to the above Act on the 24th of March, 1798.

By the Acts 38 George III., Cap 70 and 71, annuities were granted to Lords St. Vincent and Duncan of £1,000 per annum each, to commence from the 18th of August, 1798, and to be paid free and clear from all *Taxes, Impositions, and other charges whatsoever.* The Royal assent was given to the above Acts on the 6th of October, 1798.

Mr. Coutts's Notes under it.

Though the last Act is subsequent to the former, yet, as the former lays a tax on all payments to be made to absentees

during twelve months, ending the 25th of March, 1799, the Irish Treasury refused to pay Lord St. Vincent or Lord Duncan, with the exemption; and on the 9th of May Sir William Newcomen wrote that, to set right the error, the Irish Ministry had passed a vote in Parliament, which would answer, but now he writes that the payment waits for the King's letter.

The Act imposing four shillings from the 25th of March, 1799 to 1800, I suppose is not come over from Ireland; but, even if it should be found to include Lords St. Vincent and Duncan, it will only give the King leave to exempt them for the said twelve months, and not for the antecedent time, and, therefore, if the Irish Treasury *will not* exempt them, and the King *cannot*, where must their Lordships look for relief? Meanwhile, they are deprived of the payment of their due, and the nation's benevolence is disappointed and defeated.

Lord St. Vincent's victory was the — day of —; Lord Duncan's, the 12th of October, 1798. From these periods they ought to be paid.

Mr. Rose should write to Lord Castlereagh to make the payment up to March, 1799; and, if the Act running from that to 1800 does not exempt them, they must wait till Parliament meets to make it law for that twelve months, as well as for the time to come.

Mr. Coutts's Letter enclosed.

Strand, June 20, 1799.

My dear Sir—There is no end to my trouble, or what I am obliged to give you in the business of the two Naval Peers. You write to me that the Act granting the Pensions, being subsequent to that imposing the Absentee Tax, the Pensions cannot be subject to the duty this year: but the Dublin Treasury do not think so, and will not allow of the exemption. I wish you would read what I have subjoined to the paper you sent me, and write to Lord Castlereagh, to desire he will consider the matter as you have done, and order the whole to be paid up to the 25th of March, 1799.

I must write to Ireland, and see to get something done in it soon, for I shall never be able to make Lord St. Vincent see that the delay is owing to no fault of mine.

Pray, my dear sir, be so good to write immediately, or let me know in case you cannot do it.

I am ever, &c.,

THOMAS COUTTS.

Endorsed, Answered June 29.—Upon inquiring at the Treasury, it appears that, upon the arrival of the King's letter, which was applied for about four or five days ago, the Pensions will be issued to the present time, free of all deductions whatsoever.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, June 22, 1799.

My Lord—I had the honour of receiving by express your Grace's despatch of the ——, in answer to mine of the ——. On so important a question of policy as that which I had the honour of submitting to your Grace, it is a peculiar satisfaction to my mind, that the line of conduct which the honour of the Crown appeared to me to require, and which the particular interests of the King's Government, with relation to the question of Union, additionally called for, should be so decidedly approved by his Majesty and his confidential servants.

I took an early opportunity of impressing the principal friends of my Government with the reasons which had induced me to recommend, and his Majesty to sanction, the removal of those gentlemen from his service who not only differed in sentiment with my administration on the question of Union, but who had, in a manner not the most respectful, refused even to discuss a measure which had been recommended from the throne.

I have not yet altogether settled my arrangements. Your Grace may be assured of receiving the earliest intimation of the mode in which I propose to fill up the several vacancies. I trust the disposition which I shall propose will be approved

by his Majesty. Your Grace may be assured that in this, as in every act of my administration, my conduct shall be solely directed with a view to the general stability of the King's Government and the furtherance of the great object given me in charge.

I have abstained for some time from addressing your Grace much in detail on the subject of Union. It is difficult to notice the daily variations observable in the sentiments of individuals or of the public, without being liable to receive, and of course to convey, impressions in respect to the prospect of ultimate success which may not rest on any very certain foundation, and a truer estimate of our real progress may be perhaps better formed by a comparison of the general aspect of affairs at periods somewhat removed from each other.

Within the last month, I think I am justified in stating to your Grace that we have sensibly gained strength. Were I justified in ranking Lord Downshire amongst the friends of the measure, I should feel that our progress had been so considerable, as to induce me to entertain very sanguine hopes of bringing the measure to a successful issue in the course of the next Session. I have this day had a very long conversation with his Lordship, and am sorry to observe that his language is more hostile than it was when I last communicated with him, and extends itself to the principle of the measure, as well as to the unfitness of the season for its execution.

Lord Downshire's sentiments are not likely to remain a secret, and I cannot but apprehend that they will operate most injuriously as well in discouraging, and perhaps, to a certain degree, in shaking the constancy of our friends as in giving confidence to the Opposition, several of whom were beginning to hold more moderate language since the firmness as well as the perseverance of Government was so distinctly marked at the close of the Session.

Without troubling your Grace with names, which cannot at present be mentioned without considerable explanations, I

think I cannot with safety state that the supporters of a Union in the Commons have increased from 149, at which number they were stated in my last despatch, to 165. The increase is partly acquired from the numbers stated as against; partly from the class reckoned as doubtful. Should my Lord Downshire persevere in his present indisposition to the measure, I trust he may at least be induced to leave his friends, as he did on the late occasion, to pursue their own line, in which case we should divide his strength, which does not, in the present Parliament, exceed seven votes.

Having stated to your Grace the result of our exertions, as far as Parliament is concerned, I wish to give you some idea of the prospects we have out of doors. I feel the direction of the public sentiment superior in importance to every other object, and shall leave no effort unmade to turn it to advantage. Every publication of merit has been systematically and most extensively circulated, and certainly with the best effects: I have most earnestly recommended it to the friends of Government to exert themselves during the summer in their several Counties, and have urged them, without risking popular meetings, to obtain declarations similar to those of Cork and Galway in favour of the measure.

The efforts necessary to procure these declarations have roused our friends to exertion, and inspired them with a proportionate zeal; and we find in the counties in which it has been successfully tried that it has been not less useful in pledging individuals in favour of the measure than in disposing the timid to declare themselves, and will not only encourage but justify the opponents of the question in Parliament in a change of conduct.

Our situation in the Counties is at present nearly as follows. Galway, King's County, Mayo, and Kerry have already come forward; Cork, Mayo, and Kerry, with a unanimity unexampled, on any public measure. We expect to have nearly equal success in Clare, Derry, Tipperary, Waterford, and

Wexford. We reckon the strength divided in different degrees, and of course the point is to be contested, in Antrim, Armagh, Donegal, Down, Kilkenny, Leitrim, Limerick, Longford, Monaghan, Meath, Queen's County, Roscommon, Sligo, Tyrone, and Westmeath. In Carlow, Cavan, Dublin, Fermanagh, Kildare, Louth, and Wicklow, we reckon little strength, and of course can look only to time for making an impression. The temper of Dublin remains strongly adverse, but not in the degree it did. Some of the commercial body have altered their sentiments. Dublin is not without materials for a counter-party, which I should have sanguine hope of collecting, if my endeavours to produce a schism in the Corporation should prove successful.

Your Grace is so thoroughly impressed with the various difficulties, which present themselves in the prosecution of so important a change in the frame of any country, that it is unnecessary for me to guard your Grace against drawing too flattering conclusions from any facts I have stated, which, in truth, appear to me not to warrant more than a determination to persevere.

I cannot conclude this despatch without submitting to your Grace some suggestions, with a view to the prosecution of the measure. The period of bringing forward the question must necessarily depend on the future temper of Parliament and of the country. Should both be ripe for such a proceeding, I conclude your Grace would not consider it wise to hazard by any delay a change of sentiment; and that you would recommend the assembling of Parliament without loss of time. When that much desired moment may arrive, it is impossible to foresee; but it appears to me desirable that every detail connected with the measure should be prepared without delay, and that all those points which will remain to be settled by Commissioners named on the part of the respective countries, after the general resolutions shall have been agreed to, should be all privately reviewed and digested, under the direction of Minis-

ters, by a very few of those persons who are likely afterwards to be employed in conducting the formal treaty. No delay need then occur in the execution of the measure. The period of the conferences between the Commissioners, which is an awkward moment of suspense and cabal, both in and out of Parliament, would be materially abridged; and the persons so employed would guide the respective Commissioners more certainly afterwards to a unanimous decision, having had an occasion of forming common opinions, than if they were to enter into the treaty without any previous intercourse.

Should this idea meet the approbation of your Grace, I beg leave to suggest that Mr. Beresford and Mr. Corry should, at such time as your Grace should think fit to appoint, be desired to go over to London. Mr. Beresford, I find, is particularly engaged with some private business, which will necessarily detain him in Ireland for the next six weeks; but his arrangements would admit of his attending your Grace's summons about the middle of August. I mention these gentlemen as most conversant with the detail which is to be gone into, not wishing to give the Chancellor or any other member of the Government the trouble of going over—*unless your Grace should upon consideration think it necessary*—upon an investigation merely preliminary, and principally relative to trade and finance. It is also perhaps desirable that the business should be transacted so as not to attract the public attention. I should wish Lord Castlereagh to be present; and he will regulate his departure in conformity to your Grace's instructions.

If that period should be acceptable to your Grace, Lord Castlereagh would be enabled to carry over the result of the Assizes, which will probably afford an occasion to the different parties of trying their strength on the question; and Ministers would have full time to decide on the expediency of calling the Parliament before Christmas, and of raising their supply; or, if that is thought inexpedient, as delaying the measure too much, it may remain open for the united Parliament. Objections

certainly attach to the latter suggestion, but not in themselves so formidable to the success of the main question as risking a by-battle in a country peculiarly ignorant and liable to be strongly excited on a question so strongly coming home to their feelings.

In a pecuniary point of view, Mr. Pitt may perhaps be the better reconciled to this delay, from the probability there is that a considerable saving may arise (from the reduction of the Army) in the Estimates of this year; from the prospects we have of being able to make even a larger loan in the Irish market next year than was obtained this year; and from the peculiarly flourishing situation of the Revenue.

I am happy to have it in my power to state to your Grace that the Revenue of the current year promises to exceed the Revenue of the last in a sum considerably beyond what the Revenue of 1798 exceeded that of 1797. The excess of 1798 above 1797 was about half a million; that of 1799, between the 25th of March and the 10th of August, has risen to £300,000 above the excess of last year; and the remainder of the year may reasonably be expected to be proportionably much more productive, as the payments on the Window Tax, which, it is supposed, will produce above £100,000, have not yet been brought into the collection.

The three causes cannot fail to diminish very materially the amount of the loan which Great Britain will be called on to raise for the service of Ireland, and this consideration may possibly induce your Grace and Mr. Pitt to think it inexpedient to press this subject on the Irish Parliament, till they shall have been brought to decide, in the first instance at least, on the general principle of Union.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Mr. King[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Private. Whitehall, June 27, 1799.

My Lord—Enclosed I send you the Report of a lady just arrived from France. From the manner in which she gave it

[1] One of the Under-secretaries to the Duke of Portland in the Home Department.

to me, and from her answers to all the questions I put to her, I am certainly disposed to credit that part of it which is stated to be of her own knowledge. I have the honour, &c.,

J. KING.

Report of Madame De Matheray.

That she arrived at Paris from Geneva, in company with Monsieur de Roveray on the 10th inst., and remained there till the 14th—That in Lyons, which she described to be full of emigrant Swiss and aristocrats, she saw small parties of conscripts going to join Moreau—That at Auxerre she saw 3000 of this description: their destination the same—That they were in the greatest distress; that she saw them lying about in the streets, and that one of the officers who was at the same inn with her said they were obliged to force the men to march, because they took every opportunity of escaping.

During her stay at Paris, domiciliary collections were made to relieve the distresses of the army—That she saw the master of the Hôtel de Toulouse, where she was, pay the collector—That on her way from Paris to Calais, she met only three carriages, exclusive of stage-coaches—That she received on Sunday a letter from a Mr. Ruissler, a native of Mühlhausen and resident at Paris, dated the 21st instant, and also read there the Paris papers of the same date—That both her letter and the papers spoke of four Directors being dismissed, and that Barras was the only one of the old Directors that remained excepting the Abbé Siéyès, who had been re-elected—That she also read in the above papers that the Councils had declared their sittings to be permanent, and had called on their governors to explain the cause of the present reverse of their affairs, and why their lately victorious arms were everywhere defeated.

That she received while at Paris a letter from her husband, who lives near Geneva, dated the 18th instant, stating that Moreau's head-quarters had removed to Chambery, and that the Swiss *armée fidèle*, consisting of 12,000 men, under the Avoyer de Steiger and Colonel de Roveray, had retreated into the Oberland (the higher part of the Canton of Berne).

Madame de M. further states that a M. Voyrat, brother of a person of that name, who is chief clerk in the department of the Police at Paris, had assured her that the Directory had received certain intelligence of Buonaparte's death—That Massena had been obliged to cross the Aar, and to direct his retreat towards Basle, and that the Swiss Directory had removed to Fribourg.

Stephen Moore, Esq. to Lord Castlereagh.

Barn, June 27, 1799.

My dear Lord—In conformity to the wish you expressed that I should impart to you what was discoverable in these parts on the grand question, I have as yet only to report that, so much laid at rest seems the subject, it is more difficult to invite conversation upon it at all than afterwards to ascertain people's sentiments, but which certainly, among the intelligent and discerning, are favourable to the measure, nearly as if their minds were pretty well made up upon it. This may, in some degree, proceed from an impression, which I take care to encourage, that the measure will positively pass, and which seems to have prevailed here for some time; so that little alternative is left to the people but to reconcile their minds to its advantages, and which they seem to do with a very good will. On the whole, any alteration in the public mind, since I was down before, is clearly on the wished-for side; and, by lending the aid some others and myself are capable of, I think the southern part of the County cannot fail of being rendered almost universally well affected to the business. As any fresh ground of observation is afforded, I shall have the honour of addressing you again, and am, &c.,

STEPHEN MOORE.

The Marquess of Abercorn to Lord Castlereagh.

July 2, 1799.

My dear Lord—I am conscious that I have delayed much too long my acknowledgments of your polite letter. I have

never doubted that by steadiness and good management your Union may be accomplished, and without serious difficulty, provided fair attention be paid to the circumstances and just claims of Ireland and Irish interests. I am, therefore, glad that you have, upon reconsideration, discovered how essential it is both to put elections upon a settled footing, and to indemnify the proprietors of Boroughs, who (I may say, without reproach, as I did not resist) would else have been injuriously sacrificed.

My wish to show every mark of confidence and esteem towards Lord Cornwallis I surely need not state. County meetings (except as weapons of opposition) I am apt to think likely to do more harm than good upon almost every occasion; and it happens that all the Donegal interests you mention, except Lord Conyngham,[1] have proved themselves my enemies: but my friends and I will be ready to sign our names to and circulate a protest against the acts of opposition, and a declaration of your own sentiments, and, in a post or two, I will write to the Solicitor-general upon the subject.

I am, &c., ABERCORN.

Rev. Dr. Troy to Robert Marshall, Esq.

Friday, July 5, 1799.

My dear Sir—I enclose Dr. Bray's answer to my letter on the subject you mentioned to me in Lord Castlereagh's name, when I had the pleasure of seeing you last. Dr. Bray is the R. C. Archbishop of Cashel. Respects to Lord Castlereagh, and believe me,

Yours truly,

J. T. TROY.

To the Rev. Dr. Troy, Dublin.

Thurles, July 1, 1799.

My dear Doctor—I received the letter with which you favoured me at the request of Lord Castlereagh, expressing

[1] Henry, third Baron, created Earl 1797, and subsequently Marquess.

his hope that I will discreetly exert my influence in the counties of Tipperary and Waterford, to procure the signatures of respectable Catholics to an address in favour of a Legislative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain.

I need not observe to you, who know so well the dispositions of our respectable Catholics, what little influence we have over them in political matters, and with what reserve and secrecy we should interfere on the present occasion, in order to ensure any degree of success to it, and to avoid censure.

If we act in any ostensible capacity in the business of Union, either by a personal signature to an address in favour of it, or otherwise, in my humble opinion, instead of serving the cause, we may injure it. As far as I understand the measure, it will be productive of substantial benefits to both countries, and, therefore, it meets my good wishes, and shall have the whole of my little mite of assistance, but with due attention to the necessary cautions and hints so wisely suggested by Lord Castlereagh.

I remain, &c.,

THOMAS BRAY.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, July 6, 1799.

My Lord—I have the honour to enclose, for your Grace's information, a copy of the declarations in favour of the Union, this day published by the Counties of Kerry and Mayo. I am informed that they comprehend the entire property of those counties, and that other counties will be found ready to follow this example. I submit to your Grace whether it might not be advantageous to have this introduced by a few lines inserted in the London papers, to show to those connected with Ireland, who reside in England, that the measure is gaining friends, and is in some parts of the kingdom decidedly popular.

I am happy to inform your Grace that, amongst other converts, we have to include the Archbishop of Cashel, who yes-

terday intimated to the Lord-Lieutenant that the measure should have his decided support. Although we have not had reason to apprehend much difficulty in the House of Lords, yet we must consider his Grace's name as a very valuable acquisition. Lord Carhampton, having disposed of his estate and place at Luttrelstown to Mr. White, the town contractor, has, I understand, parted with much of his indisposition to Union along with them, and now declares his intention of voting for the measure. So decided a change of sentiment in two of our most determined opponents is peculiarly advantageous at this moment, as tending to correct the bad effects resulting from the part Lord Downshire has hitherto taken.

If your Grace could by any means prevail on Lord De Clifford to take a decided part with us, which, from some circumstances which have come to my knowledge, I should conceive not quite impossible, it would have at this moment the most salutary effects in shaking the confidence of our opponents. A very general declaration in favour of this measure has been signed in the city of [Waterford]; the county is also coming forward with great unanimity. The conduct of the city is the best surety of the public disposition being with us, notwithstanding the Corporation is strongly disposed, at all times, to disputation, and jealous to the last degree of Lord Waterford's influence. Very active measures are making against us at Limerick by Mr. Prendergast, who has the leading influence in the corporation. Lord Carhampton has gone down, and will probably, from his extensive property in the town, secure a sufficient support from that quarter.

With a view to the preparation of the details of this measure, which, I understand, your Grace intends to enter upon in the course of next month, if the gentlemen who have been desired to proceed from hence should think it advisable, and if your Grace would consider what official documents may be wanting from this country, and would have the goodness to

furnish me with a schedule of such papers as may be required, I will take care to have them prepared in time, so as that no delay need occur in the transaction of the business from references to Ireland for accounts.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

The Rev. Dr. Dillon[1] *to the Rev. Dr. Troy.*

Cong, July 9, 1799.

Most Rev. and Dear Sir,—On receipt of your last letter, I wrote to Dr. Reilly and to Dr. Bray, formerly my Metropolitan, whom I am in the habit of consulting on every important occasion, to request their advice. That I, who am the youngest, and, in every sense of the word, the last of our Archbishops, should be the first to sign these resolutions, would, I apprehended, be considered the height of rashness and imprudence. I have waited from day to day for Dr. Bray's answer, but have not heard from him; he is probably employed in visiting some remote parishes of his diocese. Dr. Reilly is of opinion that I should sign the resolutions. I perceive, however, that by such a step I would draw upon myself the censure of a large portion of the inhabitants of this diocese, and I am certain that our Bishops could more effectually promote any great measure which Government may adopt for the benefit of our country, by not appearing so publicly to take an active part in the present political contest. It would also give a handle to the enemies of subordination, who have already endeavoured to counteract any little exertions which I may have employed to bring back the people to a sense of their duty by styling me an Orange Bishop, the tool of Government, well paid for my services, &c. These considerations, together with the difficulties in which, by such a precedent, I should probably involve some of our brethren,

[1] Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam.

more immediately exposed to the wrath of our enemies than I am, have left me wavering and uncertain for many days. Supported, however, by your sanction and that of Dr. Reilly, I think I may venture to request of your Lordship to sign it for me. My Vicar-general and Dean have already signed. I have also, since my last, spoken to some Roman Catholic gentlemen on the subject. Mr. Crane, of Boulaby, tells me that he has signed. Mr. Lynch, of Clogher, refuses to sign, without assigning any motive. Thomas Dillon, of Farm Hill, a gentleman of landed property, requests that his name may be added to the list.

I am actually employed in performing a very painful duty, visiting the parishes which have contracted the greatest weight of guilt during the late rebellion.

I have the honour to be, with the highest veneration,

Your faithful humble servant,

EDWARD DILLON.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, July 10, 1799.

My Lord—I am directed, by the Duke of Portland, to inform you that, it appearing by letters from the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort George that Mr. Roger O'Connor is in a very infirm state of health, his Grace is of opinion that it will be proper that Mrs. R. O'Connor should be made acquainted therewith, and at the same time informed that his Grace has given direction to the Governor that she shall be admitted to see and converse with her husband, should she be desirous of so doing.

Your Lordship will be pleased to cause this to be communicated to her in such manner as you may judge to be most advisable, I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. KING.

The Rev. Dr. Troy to Robert Marshall, Esq.

North King Street, Dublin,
Saturday Evening, 8 o'clock, July 13, 1799.

My dear Sir—The enclosed from Dr. Dillon, my most rev. compere of Tuam, is just come to hand. It is out of my power to speak to you on the subject of it until after my return from the country, whither I *must* proceed to-morrow, though Sunday, at an early hour, and shall be absent for a few days. You may write to me at *Kilcullen* Monday and Tuesday next —I mean, by the post on those days.

From the enclosed you will perceive I have not been inattentive to Lord Castlereagh's commission, communicated to me by you some time ago. Best respects to his Lordship. I lately sent you a letter on the same subject, from Dr. Bray, of Cashel. You are now authorized to affix Dr. Dillon's and his namesake's, Thomas Dillon, Farm Hill, to the Mayo address, or resolutions, which have appeared in the prints. Dr. Dillon's signature is thus:—Edward Dillon, D.D., Rom. Cath., A. B. Tuam.

Lord Glentworth[1] wrote to me from Limerick, requesting I would express my favourable opinion of the Union in a few lines to his Lordship, which he might show to some respectable persons who would, he said, be influenced thereby. I accordingly wrote to his Lordship, as he wished, on the 6th instant.

I thank you for your early intelligence of Colonel Craufurd's despatch, announcing Kray's victory over Macdonald, and I hope it will be soon officially confirmed.

Be assured of the sincerity with which I remain

Yours, &c., J. T. Troy.

Lord Castlereagh to the Lord Primate of Ireland.

Dublin Castle, July 16, 1799.

My Lord—Feeling extremely anxious to give a more early effect to the object of the late Primate's bequest than the ar-

[1] Edward Henry, second Baron, afterwards created Earl of Limerick.

rangement upon which your Grace was consulted previous to your leaving town, I have submitted the enclosed plan to the Lord-Lieutenant's consideration, and his Excellency thinks favourably of the outline. May I request your Grace to favour me with your ideas on the subject, previous to its being submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers?

I am induced to think the proposed scheme would not only provide funds for the new University, but materially improve the schools, which I conceive to be at present rather injured than benefitted by the extensive endowment connected with them. The schools, in my mind, ought to be connected with the University, and made subject to the same visitation. The salary to the master not to be of sufficient amount to be an object to any man who did not rely on his exertions for his income. If this plan should be decided on, enough might be done immediately by charter to secure the legacy, and the arrangements be completed in the course of the next Session. It is, of course, to be understood that the profits of the present incumbents in the several schools should not suffice during their incumbency.[1] I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Bulstrode, Friday, July 19, 1799,
at Midnight.

Although I understand, that the intelligence which I have to communicate to your Excellency has not gained much credit any where, and that the authenticity is more doubted at the Admiralty than elsewhere, it too immediately concerns the Kingdom over which your Excellency presides for me to withhold or delay making you acquainted with it.

Since I left town, which was not till after four o'clock this afternoon, a letter has been received from Lieutenant-General Cuyler, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's troops in Portugal,

[1] The plan for the proposed University, referred to in this letter, must, I presume, be that which is inserted in the Supplement to the year 1798.

dated Lisbon, the 7th instant, which states that, in consequence of various reports which he had heard of the combined fleets of France and Spain having put to sea from Carthagena on the 30th June, he had written to Mr. de Pinto on the subject; the substance of whose answer was, that the official letters he had received from Madrid stated only that the enemy's squadrons, consisting of 40 ships of the line and 28 frigates, would be ready for sea by the end of June; that their destination was unknown, but that it was thought to be Ireland; but that, by private letters of the 2d instant from Madrid, which had been received that morning by several individuals at Lisbon, it was said that the French and Spanish squadrons had actually put to sea, but without naming the day on which they sailed. Mr. de Pinto added that he had no official information of the position of Lord St. Vincent's fleet, but that there were flying reports from Spain, which stated it to be cruizing off Alicant.

Lest your Excellency should be inclined to suppose, either from the nature of this information or the despatch which I have used in transmitting it to you, that it has created any such sensation in the breasts of his Majesty's confidential servants with respect to the safety or even the tranquillity of Ireland as to incline them to imagine that it may be advisable to take any additional precautions, or not to lessen your military force, I think it due to your Excellency that I should remove every possibility of doubt in that respect, by explicitly stating to you that there does not appear to be any reason for altering the destination of the corps which are now under orders to leave Ireland, or for suspending their embarkation for a single moment. I have the honour, &c.,

PORTLAND.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Private. Dublin Castle, July 20, 1799.

My Lord—Since I last addressed your Grace, the tranquillity of the country has been uninterrupted, and there is

every appearance at present of its continuing so. The late seasonable rains afford a prospect of an abundant crop, and the people are universally industrious. There is the greatest facility in all money transactions, and every species of business is carried on with activity. The accounts I receive from the North, in respect to the linen trade, are particularly flattering; the demand is beyond what can be supplied, and the price one-third above the usual standard. I have the satisfaction to add, that the revenue continues to rise, and promises to exceed the produce of 1798 in the same proportion that the produce of 1798 did that of 1797.

I propose leaving town on Monday for the South. My intention is to pass by Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Athlone. I shall visit the principal persons who lie in my route, and be absent about three weeks. This tour will enable me to speak with more precision of the state of the public mind on the Union than I have hitherto been able to do. My observations have as yet been altogether confined to Dublin, which is certainly the point of resistance. If I may confide in the accounts I receive, the measure is working very favourably in the South. Within these few days, the Catholics have shown a disposition to depart from their line of neutrality, and to support the measure. Those of the city of Waterford have sent up a very strong declaration in favour of Union, at the same time expressing a hope that it will lead to the accomplishment of their emancipation, as they term it, but not looking to it as a preliminary. The Catholics of Kilkenny have agreed to a similar declaration; and, as the clergy of that Church, particularly the superiors, countenance the measure, it is likely to extend itself.

In the North, the public opinion is much divided on the question. In Derry and Donegal, the gentry are in general well disposed. The linen merchants are too busily employed in their trade to think much on the subject, or to take an active part on either side; but I understand they are, on the

whole, rather favourable, wishing to have their trade secured, which they do not feel, notwithstanding the Speaker's argument, to be independent of Great Britain.

The speech which was delivered in Parliament by Lord Minto[1] has been very extensively circulated, and has made a very deep impression in this kingdom. The liberal and conciliating tone in which his Lordship argues the question, has induced many persons to give his reasoning the credit of their concession. The public sentiment is visibly softened on the measure, but still there is little zeal amongst its supporters, and we must be prepared to encounter all the difficulties attendant on so extensive a change, which is to be worked in a great measure against the private feelings and interests of those in whom the political authority of the country at present resides.

I have the honour, &c.,

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, July 20, 1799.

My Lord—Although we cannot as yet assert that we have divided the corporation of Dublin on the question of Union, yet I think the proceedings of yesterday prove that there is a hesitation in that body to act up to their former declarations, which announces a change of sentiment as approaching, and which, I trust, may be improved upon. A motion was agreed to in the Commons, that the freedom of the City should be presented to Mr. Saurin for his manly resistance of a Legislative Union with Great Britain, and that the same should be presented by the Mayor and Corporation, with their regalia, &c. This resolution, being sent up to the board of Aldermen, Alderman Alexander (on whose influence we have principally relied in making an impression) stated his readiness to give the freedom of the City to Mr. Saurin, as a very deserving loyal

[1] Sir Gilbert Elliott, created 1797 Baron Minto, and, after having merited such distinction by his services, raised to the title of Earl of Minto.

citizen, but that he must object to its being granted on the ground of his opposition to the Union, as well as to its being presented with any unusual marks of respect. His motion, to confine it to a simple vote of freedom, was carried without a division. I understand he had a majority of two at the Board. This vote being sent down, the Commons sent up another Resolution, earnestly requesting that the freedom at least should be presented with a suitable address, which application was also negatived. Not thinking it prudent to try their strength on the present occasion any further, several of Alderman Alexander's friends withdrew, after which several resolutions against the measure were sent up, which were also rejected, but to which the Board (the opposite party being more numerous) sent down a reply, desiring not to be understood as having relinquished their former sentiments. Upon the whole, your Grace will, I am persuaded, be of opinion that, when contrasted with the warmth of their former proceedings, this change is important, and that it is material even to have operated so far on the most hostile corporate body in the kingdom.

As yet I have heard of no hostile proceedings at any of the Assizes that have been held in the Queen's County. Sir John Parnell and Mr. Pitt stated to the Grand Jury their strong disapprobation of the measure, but declined disturbing the County with any meeting upon it. The Assizes of Louth are over, but I have not heard what has passed.

We are using every effort to bring forward the several Counties; and, upon the whole, our prospects are favourable. I have the honour to enclose a newspaper, in which your Grace will observe declarations most respectably signed. From the city of Waterford a similar declaration was this day transmitted by Lord Ormonde,[1] from the Catholics of Kilkenny. I entertain sanguine hopes that we shall have sufficient strength in Tipperary to carry a County Meeting in favour of Union. Although, in general, we have preferred showing our strength

[1] Walter, eighteenth Earl and first Marquess.

by signatures in this important county, it will be very material to instruct the County Members, who both voted against us; as this very unconstitutional practice is but too prevalent in Ireland, it is fair to turn it to advantage if we can.

I trust Tipperary is not the only county in which we shall be able to avail ourselves of this expedient to release County Members from the embarrassment of their former precipitancy.

I forbear specifying them to your Grace, as every prospect of this kind is so liable to failure, that I am unwilling to create an expectation which might not be fulfilled.

It is rumoured that some attempt will be made in the County of Down at the Assizes against the measure. It is my intention to attend. Should Lord Downshire encourage it, I cannot flatter myself that my presence can be material; but it may check any attempt which has not his avowed support, which might otherwise succeed.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Lord De Clifford to Mr. Townshend.

King's Weston, July 23, 1799.

My dear Townshend—I have received your letter, and I am sorry to say that I feel a considerable degree of difficulty in what manner to answer it. I will just observe that you did me but justice in assuring Lord Camden, "that no man wished more earnestly for the maintaining of connexion of Ireland with England than I did;" but still the measure of Union is of such immense moment, and appears to me fraught with so much danger, that I cannot help hesitating at giving my support to it. I am not, nor was I ever, much of a politician. I have not ability to entitle me to an office of importance, nor am I in any way ambitious of honours or emoluments; therefore, in forming a decisive opinion upon this great national question, I shall be actuated, I flatter myself, by the purest principles, and decide in whatever manner appears to me to be the best for the mutual interest of the two countries. I do,

and will, support the present administration, from a thorough conviction that, in so doing, I am supporting the welfare of the kingdom; but upon the question of Union, I must be allowed to think a little for myself. I am far from presuming to imagine that I am competent to decide upon this vast measure, but have not the smallest hesitation at determining to oppose it, if it appears that a great majority of the people of Ireland are against it, at a time that it must be obvious to every man that this country ought to do every thing in its power to conciliate the minds of the people of the Sister Kingdom.

With regard to the measure itself, supposing the nation, or *even* the Parliament, should be induced to adopt it, I much fear that the great number of absentees which would immediately follow its being carried into execution would be much more likely to occasion the rebellion's breaking out afresh, than it would tend to restoring peace and quietness, even were the majority of the well affected in favour of it. It is a well-known fact to those that are at all acquainted with the interior of Ireland, that a very great majority of the people look upon the proprietors of the land of the country as a set of usurpers, and have been ready (time immemorial) to rise and wrest their property from them on the first opportunity. I am perfectly convinced that we owe the salvation of the country during the late rebellion (which, by the bye, I fear is not suppressed, but barely smothered) more to the personal exertions of the country gentlemen in devoting their whole time, their lives, and their properties, to keeping their tenantry and neighbours in order, than we do to the great military force that was brought into the kingdom. If, by forcing a Union upon this country, you disgust one half of these gentlemen and convert the other half into absentees, you will leave the country a prey to the machinations of the disaffected, and the consequence I fear would be fatal. By bringing forward the question at a time that the rebellion is but half suppressed, and the popular clamour against it, you give every disaffected rascal in the kingdom an

opportunity of calling himself a loyalist, and declaring himself ready to rise up and die in defence of the independence of Ireland and in support of its Parliament. I have frequently heard those who are fond of the measure instance the prosperity of Scotland since it has been united to England. That it has improved in manufactures and agriculture, increased in wealth, &c., &c., since the Union, I have no doubt; but I do very much doubt whether it would not have improved just as much without it. At the same time, I am perfectly satisfied that a Union with Scotland was a very politic and wise measure. I conceive that, in Scotland, at the time of the Union, a great part of the powerful proprietors of land were attached to the Pretender; that the great body of the people did not care who was king, but followed the head of their clan to whichever party he pleased. It consequently was a desirable object to carry any measure into execution which should attract the rich and powerful to the British Court, as the natural consequence of it was their by degrees attaching themselves to it. The very reverse appears to me to be the best policy for Ireland. The landed interest you have already attached to you, both from principle and interest. The great body of the people are against you, and I should therefore think that, instead of holding out inducements to them to leave it, you ought rather to give them every encouragement to reside upon their estates, and guard the mutual interests and connexion of the two kingdoms, where they have most power to do it with effect.

Lord Castlereagh informs me that "it is intended that the counties should return two members, as at present; that the populous cities and towns should return one member each, and the rest of the boroughs be classed as in Scotland, making a proportionate compensation to the proprietors." Though I solemnly declare I would not hesitate a moment sacrificing my borough interest if I was convinced the measure was for the public good, I cannot be expected (entertaining the doubts that I do respecting it,) to be wholly unmindful of my private

interest, and I should wish much to know in what light my boroughs would be looked upon according to this plan. If to be classed with the other boroughs in their respective counties, they would no longer be of any value whatever to me; and as neither of them are what can be called close boroughs, though I have not the smallest fear of losing the nomination of a seat in either of them, as long as things remain as they are, I have my doubts whether I should be thought entitled to any compensation whatever for the great Parliamentary interest I should immediately lose upon such a measure being carried into execution.

I have freely stated to you some of the objections I feel to a Union; nevertheless, if it appeared that a decided majority of the landed interest were in favour of it, I should be inclined to give up my own opinion to that of an administration of whom I think so highly as the present.

After all, I should not choose to come to any determination just now. I shall set off for Ireland upon business on Saturday or Sunday next, and shall be absent about six weeks. I shall, of course, during my stay there, take an opportunity of paying my respects to the Lord-Lieutenant, and shall also see Lord Castlereagh, if he is in Ireland. On my return, you shall hear from me. After having consulted with my friends in Ireland, I shall probably be able to come to some final determination. Had I been prepared to say anything decisive upon the subject, I should have been particularly happy to have had an opportunity of communicating immediately with Lord Camden. The kind attention and assistance I received from his Lordship while I was in Ireland I shall ever remember with gratitude; and I can, with many others, bear witness to his having conducted the affairs of Ireland, in the most difficult and unpopular times, with ability and firmness, and still retaining a personal popularity which many other Lords-Lieutenant could not attain in much quieter times.

I am, &c., &c., &c., DE CLIFFORD.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Whitehall, July 23, 1799.

My Lord—Having communicated to the Duke of Portland your Lordship's letter of the 16th inst., enclosing those from Mr. and Mrs. O'Connor, I have his Grace's direction to acquaint you, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, that Mrs. O'Connor will be allowed to have every access to her husband that the circumstances of the case and Mr. O'Connor's situation will allow of, but that, for the present, it must be at Fort St. George, where Mr. O'Connor is confined.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. KING.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Secret. Whitehall, July 24, 1799.

My Lord—Enclosed I transmit to your Lordship, by direction of the Duke of Portland, the latest intelligence that has been received relative to the Spanish and French fleets, which sailed from Carthagena on the 30th ult., for the information of his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant.

I am, at the same time, to enclose, for his Excellency's information, a copy of the intelligence which I have at this moment received from Captain Mumford, relative to the proceedings of the Irish Committee at Paris.

In receiving the Lord-Lieutenant's directions with respect to that part of the information which states the residence of O'Mealy to be in the neighbourhood of Donaghadee, and his intention of coming over here to communicate with Malone, the Duke of Portland wishes it to be considered whether it will not be advisable to allow O'Mealy to carry this part of his intention into effect, and that a trusty person should follow him, step by step, with orders to give us immediate notice of his arrival in this place, together with his place of abode. That part of the information which relates to the arms to be sent from Hamburg to Ireland will be communicated to the

Admiralty, in order that proper measures may be taken for our obtaining possession of the Prussian vessel which is stated to have them on board. Should our endeavours fail, and, indeed, at all events, your Lordship will give the necessary orders, that the utmost vigilance should be exerted in looking out for that vessel off the coast of Belfast and Carrickfergus.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. KING.

PS. Captain Mumford informs me that O'Mealy's object is to examine Ireland thoroughly, with a view to ascertaining its most vulnerable parts. He will not be stationary in the North of Ireland, but will be moving from one quarter to another. Captain Mumford is the Captain of an American vessel, who has been concerned in carrying the Irish emissaries backwards and forwards, in the course of his trade, to a considerable degree. He has been lately employed confidentially.

July 24, 1799.

Captain Mumford, who is just arrived from France, states that he left London the 28th of May (by Mr. Wickham's directions), and that he reached Paris the 14th of June, having been obliged to go round by Embden. His chief object was to wait on Bailey at Paris, in order to ascertain whether any communication was now carrying on between Lewins and his connexions in Ireland. He found that a well-known person (O'Mealy) had set off five days before with despatches from Lewins, Bailey, and Hamilton; that he had embarked at Dunkirk, and had landed at Orfordness, and that from thence he had gone to London. These despatches were directed to a Mr. Malone in London, whose address Captain Mumford is at present ignorant of, but he says that he cannot fail discovering it, as O'Mealy (who is now in the North of Ireland, near Donaghadee) is to meet him here, having a verbal message to deliver to him from Bailey, respecting 9000 stand of arms that are to be sent from Hamburgh to some place in the neighbour-

hood of Belfast. These arms, Captain Mumford says, are to be shipped on board a Prussian vessel, which is to sail very shortly from the Elbe.

The principal object of O'Mealy's mission is to ascertain the number of effective men upon whom the French government could depend, and at the same time the exact number of British troops (particularly the yeomanry) now in Ireland, and the places at which they are stationed.

Captain Mumford says that Lewins has lately had little communication with the Directory; but he says, at the same time, that Lewins entertained the greatest hopes from the change which had been lately operated, and that he often assured him he was convinced the present rulers of France would be more favourable to the Irish cause, and act with more vigour than their predecessors.

Bailey, Lewins, and Hamilton, (who are the acting men at Paris) were of opinion that this was the moment to re-organize Ireland, and to send arms as fast as possible to their friends there, as the English Government seemed to be lulled into a state of security, and to think they had succeeded in subduing the country, but that they would soon find themselves mistaken.

Bailey told Captain Mumford that they could be supplied with any quantity of arms, and that they had unlimited credit for the purchase of them and of ammunition.

Captain Mumford further states, that he believes the French fleet is ultimately destined against Ireland; that Bailey is of that opinion; and that Talleyrand himself had observed to him several times lately that Ireland was the only vulnerable part of the British Empire.

Lewins had often complained to Captain Mumford that the conduct of the French government had hitherto been so indecisive with respect to Ireland, that all their projects had naturally failed. Lewins told him also, that the despatches were formerly addressed to Mr. Lawless, in the Temple, whose fate, Captain Mumford says, is much lamented at Paris.

There is a person of the name of Charles Campbell, pro-

prietor of an estate called Craigbourg, near Donaghadee, who, Captain Mumford suspects, from the manner in which Bailey spoke of him, is much attached to the Irish cause, and who is a very active agent in the North.

Captain Mumford, on his way through Amsterdam, observed a brig rigged and fitted like a collier, named the Neptune, which, he understood, has done much mischief to our trade off the Coast of England. She had an English register, in case of being boarded; her ostensible crew consists of Englishmen and Americans, but there are a number of Frenchmen on board, who are always concealed in her hull. The master's name is Middleton.

N.B. O'Mealy has passed over to France several times, as passenger on board Captain Middleton's vessel: he always went by the name of Berry; he is about five feet ten, of a polite address; his complexion is rather fair, his hair reddish, his eyes grey, and his mouth rather large. He speaks with a Dublin accent.

The Duke of Portland to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Bulstrode, Saturday, July 27, 1799.

My dear Sir—I return you many thanks for transmitting me the thanks of the Roman Catholic Prelates in Scotland, for the aid which Government has given them in their present distress. I flatter myself, from what you have told me, that it will answer the purpose of making them comfortable; but, if it gave them opulence and power into the bargain, they could not express their sense of it in more grateful and interesting terms. If you can indicate the neighbouring post town to Seaton, you will oblige me, as I feel a desire not to let their letter remain long unnoticed.

There can be, and I believe there has never been, but one opinion of the fairness, the steadiness, and the manliness of Dr. Moylan's character, which it was agreed, by all those who had the pleasure of meeting him *here*, was as engaging as his person, which avows and bespeaks as much *good will* as can be well imagined in a human countenance.

I shall be very glad to receive from you a particular of those facts connected with the Catholic arrangement which you think so very material to be attended to.

I am, and shall be, in town every Wednesday till the King goes to Weymouth, and will come up besides at any time that may be more convenient to you to let me see you.

I am very sincerely, my dear Sir,
Your faithful and obedient servant,
PORTLAND.

Extract of a letter from the Right Hon. Edmund Burke to Sir J. C. Hippisley, at Rome.[1]

London, October 3, 1793.

I confess I would, if the matter rested with me, enter into much more distinct and avowed political connections with the Court of Rome than hitherto we have held. If we decline them, the bigotry will be on our part, and not on that of his Holiness. Some mischief has happened, and much good, I am convinced, been prevented, by our unnatural alienation. If the present state of the world has not taught us better things, our error is very much our fault. This good correspondence could not begin more auspiciously than in the person of the *present Sovereign Pontiff*, who unites the royal and the sacerdotal characters with advantage and lustre to both. He is indeed a prelate whose dignity as a Prince takes nothing from his humility as a Priest, and whose mild condescension as a Christian Bishop, far from impairing, in him exalts, the awful and imposing authority of the secular Sovereign.

Private extract of a letter from the Hon. and Right Rev. the Bishop of Winchester to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Naples, September 20, 1793.

I have perused the papers you communicated through Sir W. Hamilton. As to open communication between Great

[1] These two Extracts appear to have been enclosures in a letter of Sir J. Cox Hippisley's, of about this date; but that letter I have not been able to find.

Britain and the Pope, it is much to be wished, and never more so than at present, when the piety, humanity, and liberality of Pius VI. present him to us as a Prince, whose friendship is an honour, and whose communication, political or private, carries everything with it that is virtuous, sincere, and good. Such a communication is in character for both countries, and especially for princes respectively the heads of their several religious establishments. As to the laws to which you allude, I believe there is but one opinion respecting the illiberal spirit of them, and the wisdom of relaxing in their enforcement. The occasion of them is now removed, and without the occasion it is difficult to justify them.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, July 29, 1799.

My Lord—The late Primate of Ireland bequeathed a sum of £5,000 to trustees, to be applied to the purpose of establishing a University at Armagh, provided the same should be incorporated within four years after his decease. This term will expire on the 10th of next October, and, if an incorporation of a University at Armagh shall not take place before that day, the legacy will lapse.

It has been long considered that the establishment of a second University in this kingdom, and especially in the Province of Ulster, so as to assist the education of dissenters, and to promote an emulation in the University of Dublin, would be of great public benefit.

The chief difficulty of forming such an establishment arose from want of sufficient funds. I therefore adverted to the chief establishments of school education under Royal donation, and it has occurred to me that a new distribution of the funds granted by Charles the First for the establishment of five schools in the Province of Ulster would, in a great measure, form an adequate supply.

I therefore directed the enclosed outline of a plan to be prepared,[1] and, having transmitted it to the Primate for his Grace's consideration, I also communicate his Grace's private observations upon the subject. I do not mean at present to enter into any detailed considerations; but I must observe that what the Primate remarks respecting the Astronomer and Librarian of Armagh does not appear to me to have such weight as to prevent their being made efficient and resident Fellows of the New University. Their institution has visibly a reference to the probability of such an institution as is now recommended, and the circumstance of the patronage belonging to the Primate alone might easily be adjusted.

Neither shall I enter minutely into the subject of the proportion of dissenters to be admitted. I have held out generally to that body that there was a disposition in Government to attend to the interests of their Clergy and to their education; but I suggest that, if his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to consider them in any new establishment, it will be prudent to consult with them previously, so as to make any royal mark of favour as agreeable to that body as possible.

If, upon consideration, it shall appear to his Majesty advisable that a University should be founded at Armagh upon any plan similar to that which I submit, a length of period will elapse before any buildings can be fitted for the reception of Fellows and Students, and for carrying on the actual business of education. The final arrangement of details may, therefore, be for some time delayed. What will be necessary at present is, first, his Majesty's approbation of such a foundation being made; secondly, of forming an incorporation before the 10th of October, so as to prevent the lapse of the late Primate's legacy; and, in the event of receiving his Majesty's approbation, it will be easy for me to have prepared such a draft of an incorporation as will secure the legacy, will enable the institution to proceed, and to receive the aid of Parliament, and will,

[1] See Supplement to 1798.

at the same time, admit such increase and alterations as, upon the mature digestion of a final plan, shall be found most advisable and beneficial. I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

———— ————.[1]

Private. Belfast, July 30, 1799.

Sir—I have received your favour, and have consequently made the necessary inquiries. I cannot find, through all my acquaintance, that such a person has arrived, and am satisfied if there is such a character here I must soon meet with him; as he cannot be here any time, neither can there be any arms landed without coming to my knowledge. Having called upon those most likely to give me satisfaction, I told them I had communication from a person in Dublin, whom I styled as one of the Executive, that we might expect a landing of arms immediately, and that a person would previously land here for the purpose, and that probably he had landed and was afraid to communicate, and begged they would be vigilant; therefore I am satisfied, if any person of the description is here, he has not as yet made himself known. I could wish you would send me a fuller description of him, particularly as to his dress, of what line of life to be considered, where from, from what vessel landed, and at what house or place he first visited, if corpulent. Certainly the person who could have so exactly described him to you must know all this, and his place of destination. You may rely upon my exerting myself in this and every other matter that may be of service to you. But I should rather think your information not well grounded, particularly as it states his having landed.

Since I wrote you last, I don't find anything doing worth noticing. There was a person in here from the neighbourhood of Ballymena. He wanted a plan of organization, but this I

[1] It does not appear by whom this letter was written, or to whom addressed.

refused and disapproved of. That part of the country by his report is totally disarmed and disorganized. I did not see him, but I shall be able to find him out shortly. There was a meeting last week in Dromore of the County Down Committee; it was not fully attended, not more than four or five; Quin, from Crumlin, was the person who waited upon me after. He said they wished much to organize the county, and exclaimed much for the want of arms, was ordered to attend me for instructions, and, if any expectation of a landing—everything, of course, from me to him was discouraging: particularly pointed out to him the treachery of the French and the little expectations now to be had. I expect shortly to see him or some other again. I should not wish any arrests in Down for the present. I shall be very vigilant in respect to Mr. Mealy: if he is landed, he must shortly be known to some of my friends, and then you may depend I shall take care of him and the arms likewise. I hope your information is in time, as nothing would give me more satisfaction than being serviceable upon so great an occasion, as it must be the forerunner of and preparatory to some great event. Yours, &c.

Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, August 5, 1799.

My Lord—I returned but last night from the North, and lose no time in troubling your Grace with the result of my excursion. My object in attending the assizes being purely defensive, of course nothing was undertaken in favour of the measure. Had anything been brought forward against a Union by Lord Downshire's friends, the numbers would have been against us, but our minority would have been numerous, and composed of the most considerable gentlemen in the County. Whatever opposition we may experience in that quarter will be of his Lordship's creating. There is no general indisposition to the question, and, with his assistance, the County of

Down might be brought to support the measure with the utmost unanimity. Mr. Forde is the only considerable proprietor not under Lord Downshire's influence, who entertained a strong opinion against Union, and by whom I rather apprehended that something would be brought forward. I took the earliest opportunity of seeing him, and so far succeeded as to reconcile him in a considerable degree.

I had much conversation with Lord Downshire. His language is strongly adverse, more so than it was, and although he has not stated either to the Lord-Lieutenant or to me that his final determination was taken to oppose the measure in Parliament, yet I much fear, from the publicity he has given to his opinions since he last went to the North, that it is his intention to do so, and that he has committed himself to the Opposition on the subject; but the latter is merely conjecture.

I think I can perceive that his Lordship is more adverse since the plan for the representation was changed: no pecuniary consideration can ever reconcile him to the reduction of his Borough influence, which will be reduced in a much greater degree by the arrangements at present looked to than by that which was at first in contemplation. I am the more inclined to suppose that some feeling of this sort has its influence, as the arguments on which he relies in conversation do not appear sufficiently convincing to persuade me that they can have any material weight in deciding his Lordship to separate from all those with whom he has hitherto acted in politics.

The temper of the North generally is by no means discouraging. Your Grace knows that it is not the habit of that part of the kingdom to take a very lively interest in any measure proposed by Government. Had a Union been suggested by Opposition, as the only safe means of curing the defects in our representation and of settling any religious differences, I have no doubt the Province of Ulster would have ere this lent its support; but the people consider success in Parliament so much, of course, when the Crown is a party, that acqui-

escence on their parts is on such an occasion the most natural mode of showing their approbation. 'The resistance that has been given to it of late has turned the public attention more to the question, and, as far as my information goes, it is gaining friends daily.

In the City and County of Londonderry, resolutions were passed without opposition, and in the County of Antrim there is every appearance of the most general concurrence in its support. The prevailing sentiment in Belfast is favourable, so that the Government may at once hope to receive support from that town. Donegal will also do well; the southern counties of the province are in a less manageable state, from their happening to be the residences of some of our most determined opponents: but we have the satisfaction to find that nothing has been done against us at the assizes, although in Cavan an attempt was made by Colonel Maxwell, the Speaker's nephew.

Upon the whole, I am of opinion we shall be able to bring it to a Parliamentary question, and that the Opposition will resolve itself into the natural repugnance which private ambition and private interest may feel to a measure which extinguishes for ever the species of Parliamentary authority which has so long prevailed in this country, and in which they are so much interested. Your Grace must be prepared for a severe struggle, and our strength will ultimately be proportioned to the means we can employ to reconcile the personal interests of individuals.

The Lord-Lieutenant's progress in the South has been marked with the most flattering proofs of public confidence, and will, I have no doubt, secure the unquestionable decision of that part of the kingdom in favour of Union.

His Excellency's return is fixed for the 12th. I conceive it will not be possible for me to receive his commands so as to leave Ireland before the 20th. I hope the delay beyond the period that was originally mentioned will not prove inconvenient to your Grace. My detention is the less material, as

I understand Mr. Beresford cannot set out till towards the end of the month. I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

Curzon Street, August 6, 1799.

My Lord—I have the gratification of communicating to your Lordship copies of a correspondence on the subject of the Catholic Clergy in Scotland, the arrangement being now completed in their favour on the scale I had the honour to suggest to Ministers. Dr. Moylan spent nearly a week at Bulstrode; and, by the Duke of Portland's account of his guest, your Lordship will observe that the Doctor became a great and just favourite there.

I put the whole of my correspondence with Lord Hobart on the Catholic subject into Doctor Moylan's hands, and had the pleasure to find that his opinion concurred entirely with my own, with respect to the *regulations* I had sketched. A part of those regulations, your Lordship will recollect, went to the establishment of a check on the introduction of Rescripts from the Pope, &c., on the principle of the institutions in France, Naples, the United Provinces, &c. If such a regulation was ever deemed necessary, it becomes doubly so when the Pope is in the hands of the republican French, and we have proofs that Rescripts were exacted from him by Spain, after the invasion of her capital, which were directed to annihilate our Newfoundland Trade, as far as the extension of a supply of fish in the Mediterranean can be so considered.

I sincerely trust my Lord Cornwallis's Government and your Lordship's important official situation will continue at least to the completion of an arrangement which is of such magnitude and importance to the future tranquillity of Ireland. In my communication with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas on this subject, I told them that I considered the arrangement in Scotland as offering a good example to the Irish Catholic clergy.

The Speaker told me, some time before, that Mr. Pitt had much approved the suggestions I had offered, with respect to the distinctions and checks on the *Monastic* Clergy. Your Lordship will permit me to quote a vulgar Italian proverb, which is this:—"One must be aware of a bull *before*, of an ass at his *heels*, and of a Friar *on all* sides." Seven years' experience on Catholic ground convinced me that this adage was well imagined.

Dr. Moylan says in all circles that Lord Cornwallis is the "*Saviour of Ireland.*" If his Lordship's Government carries through this Union, and gives birth to this Catholic regulation, the Doctor must find, if possible, some amplification of his just eulogy.

I can only say my humble services are ever devoted to your Lordship. I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. C. HIPPISLEY.

Lord Hobart returns from Bognor this day, having spent a couple of months there; Dr. Moylan was to set off yesterday for Ireland, but I have prevailed on him to wait the return to town of the Secretary at War, who is anxious to see him.

Lord Howe died yesterday.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, August 13, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have just received your letter of the 9th instant. The spirit of Rebellion seems at this moment to be so nearly exhausted in Ireland, that I dare say O'Mealy will keep himself very close, unless his expectation of seeing the French and Spanish fleets may render his proceeding more open and visible. Mr. Cooke will inform your Lordship of my having sent Captain Mumford himself to endeavour to fall on O'Mealy's track, in which case you will hear from the Captain.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, for the

information of the Lord-Lieutenant, that Lord Keith was off Cape St. Vincent on the 31st of last month, steering to the northward. The position of the combined fleets, as your Lordship is already informed, was on the 2nd of this month about thirty-two leagues North-west of Lisbon *becalmed*. I think therefore that there is now a tolerably fair chance of our falling in with them, before they reach either Ireland or Brest. I congratulate you exceedingly on the favourable appearance of things in Ireland. I remain, &c.,

J. KING.

PS. I have forwarded your Lordship's letter, giving an account of the fleet seen off Achill Head to the Duke of Portland, who is at Bulstrode, and in my letter to Cooke have given the reasons why I conceive them to be only Swedes.

There is Aylmer, a Rebel General of the County of Kildare, who, I understand, is at this moment walking about the streets of London. I should like to know from your Lordship the terms on which this man has been suffered to remove himself from Ireland, or whether there be such evidence against him as to induce the Lord-Lieutenant to direct that he should be sent to Ireland. If he is notoriously guilty of the crimes imputed to him, I should humbly submit that his continuing at large at such a moment as the present is not advisable.

J. K.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, August 13, 1799.

My Lord—I returned to town on Friday, from my southern tour, and am happy to have it in my power to convey to your Grace the most satisfactory accounts of that part of the kingdom, as well in point of tranquillity as in general good disposition towards the Government, and cordial approbation of the measure of Union. This sentiment is confined to no particular class or description of men, but equally pervades both the Catholic and Protestant bodies; and I was much gratified

in observing that those feelings which originated with the higher orders have, in a great degree, extended themselves to the body of the people.

I received, in the course of my tour, addresses from all the public bodies connected with the towns through which I passed, as also from those in the neighbourhood of the places where I made any stay (with the exception of those Corporations which happened to be under the influence of individuals who had taken a part in Parliament against the measure); they universally declared themselves most warmly and unequivocally on the question of Union; and, since my return, a meeting of the County of Tipperary, convened by the Sheriff, and most numerously and respectably attended, has entered into strong resolutions, and instructed their representatives to support the Union. Lord Lismore[1] and some few of Mr. Ponsonby's friends attended, but their strength was so inconsiderable, that they withdrew, and the proceeding was unanimous. The accession of Tipperary to those counties before declared, gives us the entire province of Munster; and its weight will be the more authoritative, as it is an inland county and not decided merely by commercial prospects.

The province of Connaught is going on well. The town of Galway has recalled its former decision, and declared strongly for Union. I hope the county will shortly follow this example. The measure has not as yet made the same progress in the province of Ulster. Although we have very formidable opponents to contend against in that quarter of the kingdom, I by no means despair of the public sentiments being ultimately favourable; and, feeling strongly the importance of the object, my exertions shall be particularly directed to dispose the public mind to the Union. In the Northern Counties, we have already established the question strongly in Derry and Antrim.

Were the Commons of Ireland as naturally connected with

[1] He succeeded to the Barony on the decease of his father, 1797, and was afterwards created a Viscount.

the people as they are in England, and as liable to receive their impressions, with the prospects we have out of doors, I should feel that the question was in a great degree carried; but your Grace is so well acquainted with the constitution of the assembly in which the question is to be prosecuted, and must be aware how anxiously personal objects will be connected with this measure, which goes to new model the public consequence of every man in Parliament, and to diminish most materially the authority of the most powerful, that your Grace will feel, however advantageous it is for Government to carry the public sentiment with it, that distinct interests are there to be encountered, which will require all the exertions and all the means of Government to overcome, and which may still very much delay and impede the accomplishment of this great settlement. Lord Castlereagh will state to your Grace, more in detail, my ideas on this part of the subject, and on which the early success of the measure will, under the present appearances, absolutely and entirely depend.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Mr. James Dawson to Mr. Robert Marshall.

Rosstrevor, August 28, 1799.

My dear Sir—I have had the pleasure of writing several letters to you, but have not been favoured with a line from you since I left Dublin. In my former letters I mentioned to you several gentlemen to whom I requested the pamphlets of Lord Minto and Lord Sheffield, on the intended Union, might be sent, and any other that may have come out to be sent to myself, with half a dozen of each of the others, directed to me at this place. They have not come to hand, and, if I had them, I could dispose of them with good advantage to the cause. The public mind is softening down, but great pains are taken by the Anti-Unionists to raise an alarm among the people of Ulster against the question, by insinuating that a Union would be the destruction of the linen trade, inasmuch

as, when the measure was carried into execution, England would carry from this country the manufacture. Ridiculous as the idea must be to every man who knows any thing, yet, I assure you, among the ignorant and illiterate, it has been made a handle with some effect, and the trade, at this moment, is in so flourishing a state, that the manufacturer and all concerned in it are the more tenacious; however, as I have before observed, we must be the more alert, and the greater pains must be exerted to explain and to undeceive.

I have had a good deal of private conversation with the Peer who directs the cover of this letter; he is at present under the influence of the Speaker's politics, but I think he may be worked upon. I find men from the Counties of Cavan and Monaghan here, with whom I talked much in the beginning of July in their own counties, and found them much against the measure. I have great satisfaction in being able to tell you, that they are much brought about, and that I consider them as gained.

I beg you will send me the pamphlets by return of post, as I want them much; and if those I have mentioned are not sent, I beg you will order them to be sent as directed; and, in addition, I have to request you will order the two pamphlets to be sent to Mr. Robert Henderson, Cornescribe, Tanderagee. I intend to quit this station as soon as I hear from you, and to go into the County of Armagh, and from thence to the low part of the County of Antrim, so round by the County of Tyrone, back to Armagh and Monaghan, which tour will employ me till the latter end of October. You shall hear from me occasionally, and I hope, on my return to Dublin, to have it in my power to make a very favourable report.

The first of this month is long past, but I have postponed sending you my receipt till the present moment that I stand in need of a viaticum; and I shall hope for a remittance by return of post, directed to me, Rosstrevor.

Yours most faithfully, J. D.

Mr. King to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Whitehall, August 29, 1799.

My dear Lord—Within I transmit your Lordship, for the information of the Lord-Lieutenant, a copy of a letter which Mr. Secretary Dundas has this day received from the Prince of Bouillon, enclosing a paper containing intelligence from Brest. We have not yet received any account of our expedition, and are, therefore, as your Lordship may suppose, waiting with the utmost anxiety, although with little apprehension, as to the result. I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. KING.

Jersey, August 26, 1799.

Sir—I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency the last state of Brest that has reached me *direct;* I expect every moment further particulars, which I shall lose no time in forwarding. It does not appear that they have many troops with them, as a report is circulated that an auxiliary army of 25,000 men is coming into France by the Pyrenees, from which they are to complete the parties that do duty as marines in the fleet. There is nothing new in the vicinity of the neighbouring coasts. The Chouans continue their partial depredations, principally directed against the public communications in the interior.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Substance of Communications from Brest direct, up to the 10th of August, inclusive.

August 8th. The combined fleet that has returned with Admiral Bruix to this port is composed as follows:—

Of the Line of Battle—

French, eight of 100 to 110 guns, upon three decks; seventeen from 74 to 84 guns, upon two decks; of these, 17, the

Formidable and Indomptable, have barbet batteries upon their gangways, which, in effect, makes them three-deckers: total, 25.

Spanish, four from 100 to 114 guns, upon three decks; eleven from 70 to 84 guns, upon two decks: total, 15.

Total of the combined fleet returned fit for service, 40 sail of the line. French, eight frigates, six corvettes, four fire-ships, and several small tenders. Spanish, four frigates, two corvettes, and three store-ships, *en flute*.

There lay in the Road, when they came in, five line-of-battle ships that had been there some time, five frigates, and three corvettes.

The Indivisible is rigging with the greatest activity, and the artificers of the yard are fitting her with a barbet battery, like the Formidable.

August 9th. The frigate La Vengeance was hauled out of dock, and the Précieuse got into her place.

The ships Mutine and Entreprenant have been dismantled, being found unfit to keep the sea; their crews, with that of the frigate La Précieuse, are distributed between the Dugommier, Patriote, and Berwick, of 74 guns each.

The above dismantled ships are still kept in the Road as receiving ships.

The ships are returned, completely stored for service, from the Spanish arsenals, and their crews are kept strictly on board, to prevent desertions.

Brest, August 9. The five Spanish ships, from the Island of Ain, are daily expected, as is the Argonaute, a new line-of-battle ship, from L'Orient.

Orders have been received to show every distinction to the Spaniards, and there is a great feast given them to-day in the Road.

Brest, August 10. State of the Road on this day.

Line-of-battle fit for Sea.

Fourteen three-deckers, including the Formidable and Indomptable, with barbet batteries on their gangways; twenty-

nine from 84 to 74 guns, two-deckers; two hulks, receiving ships; seventeen frigates; eight corvettes, and several store-ships and small tenders.

D'AUVERGNE, Prince of Bouillon.

Just as I seal my letter, one of my confidential men is arrived from the Coast, with accounts that the desertion of the seamen from Brest is almost general. The Roads of Britanny are covered with them, disputing the passage with the gendarmerie, that are all in activity to prevent it.

Right Hon. John Beresford to Lord Castlereagh.

Buxton, August 30, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have just received yours of the 26th. I am much obliged to you for your attention to my convenience. I see your letters say that either the middle or the end of the month is equal to ministers on this side, but I am certain they wish for the end. I wrote to Lord Auckland[1] to know what he heard them say on the subject of time, and he told me, in answer, the end of the month; Rose wrote to me to Dublin (which I received here) for papers, among others, for the last Book of Rates, to be sent, under cover, to Mr. Frewin, Commissioner of Customs, which has been sent. I wrote to him from hence in answer, and desired him to let me know when he thought I should be called to London; his answer was, that Mr. Pitt was wholly occupied by naval and military business, and would

[1] William, third son of Sir Robert Eden, Bart., of West Auckland, Durham, was bred to the bar, and successively filled many important situations. He was Under-Secretary of State for the Northern Department, first, in 1771, and again in 1773; Commissioner to America, 1778; Chief Secretary in Ireland, 1780; Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, 1783; Envoy Extraordinary to France for Commercial Matters, 1785; Ambassador to Madrid, 1787; Plenipotentiary to Holland, 1789; Joint Postmaster-General from 1798 to 1801. In 1793, he was created a British Peer by the title of Baron Auckland, having previously been invested with an Irish Peerage. By his lady, the sister of Sir Gilbert Eliot, the first Lord Minto, he had children born in all the different countries to which he was called by public business.

not be able to attend to us before the end of September or the beginning of October, and that he was himself taking advantage, and going for three weeks or a month to Cufnells; so that I am certain that you would only lose time by coming before the end of September.

On Rose's sending for the Book of Rates, and desiring it to be sent to Frewin, I see they mean to go into certain calculations and comparisons. I therefore wrote to Cooke, not being sure that you might not have set out for London, and desired him, if thought necessary, to order Weld, who was at Liverpool, to stay on this side the water, in case our meeting had been in the beginning of September; but, on receiving R.'s answer, and hearing from Dublin that C. was at the Chancellor's, I wrote to Weld to Liverpool to go home, and, I suppose, he is now in Dublin, and Rogers Wetheral, first clerk in the Inspector's office, is in London. I wrote to him to stay there, and found that Isaac Corry had before secured him.

Among the various subjects which must be discussed, I think the ascertaining the quantum of our contribution will be one of the most difficult: it might, therefore, be well to sound men's opinions on that point, to direct our ideas to what may be thought reasonable by men of sense and weight; I have reason to believe that the Speaker relies upon the difficulties he will be able to throw in the way of a final adjustment.

Patrickson is here, so is the Rev. Mr. Elliot, Grattan's[1] brother-in-law: he told the former that Grattan was in the Isle of Wight, very ill, that he was ordered not to read or

[1] Henry Grattan, whose father was Recorder of and M.P. for Dublin, was educated at Trinity College, called to the Bar, and, through the influence of the Earl of Charlemont, obtained a seat in Parliament, where he gained such distinction by his exertions in behalf of the independence of Ireland, that the sum of £50,000 was voted to him for his services. He was likewise a zealous and persevering advocate of the claims of the Catholics, and an equally strenuous opponent of the measures of Government in general, and of the Union in particular.

write, or attempt any business, but that he was constantly writing, and was determined to go to Ireland the end of September or beginning of October, and was full of politics, and nothing his friends could say had any effect upon him. Lord D. surprised me, but I fear he is inveterate; his criticism is very diverting as a criticism; but I fear it shows a mind determined to think on one side of this great question only. Alick Knox is gone from me since Tuesday; George Knox went yesterday; they are at Matlock. The latter goes to London on Monday. I do not yet know when the former stirs. Counsellor William Smith[1] has just left me; he goes off just now: he has been extracting from my volumes of Union pamphlets, for some days, and is about some work, which I conjecture to be a review of the whole of the arguments.

Monsieur le Commandeur de Marcellanges, my brother-in-law, came to me yesterday from Lord Moira's, and I have just received a letter from Lady Hill[2] and Fanny, from Liverpool, where she landed last night from Derry in thirty-one hours; and, about an hour ago, arrived Sir Henry Tuite and my niece; so that I shall not be alone in this most dismal place.

My health is better . . . . . and I can walk much better than I have been able to do for many months, so that I hope soon to be able to go anywhere.

[1] Son of Sir Michael Smith, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland; he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards came to London for the purpose of studying the law. Here he gained the friendship of Mr. Burke, and, on his return to Ireland, became an eminent pleader at the Irish Bar, particularly in the Court of Chancery. He also distinguished himself in the House of Commons, and, after the Union, was raised to the Bench as a Baron of the Exchequer. The work for which Mr. Beresford supposed Mr. Smith to be making extracts was, no doubt, a pamphlet published by him in 1799, with the title of "Address to the People of Ireland on the subject of the proposed Union between the two Kingdoms."

[2] Third daughter of Mr. Beresford, and wife of Sir George Fitzgerald Hill.

We have not had a single day without rain, and the place is, without exception, the most dismal and disagreeable I ever was at. A man need not wait for the gloomy month of November to hang himself; he need only come to Buxton in August. I suppose some one wrote to Sir George Hill, or the girls, that I was either about to die a natural death or to hang myself, by their setting out in such a hurry from Derry for Liverpool, to see me before I departed; but I hope to depart for London, not for the next world yet.

I am, my dear Lord, yours, &c.,

J. BERESFORD.

The Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant.

Whitehall, Saturday, August 31, 1799.

My Lord—I have had the honour to receive and lay before the King your Excellency's letter of the 29th of last month, in which you remind me of the legacy of £5000 which was left by the late Primate of Ireland, to be applied to the purpose of establishing a University at Armagh, "provided the same should be incorporated within four years after his decease," and represent that the term so specified will expire on the 10th of next October, and that the legacy will lapse, unless the condition annexed to it is fulfilled before that day. Your Excellency communicates the reasons which have been alleged in favour of such an establishment, and suggests the means of providing funds for it; and you also transmit the outlines of a plan of the Institution, together with a copy of the present Primate's observations upon it.

Considering the time which has passed since your Excellency put these papers into my hands, and the near approach of the period at which the bequest becomes void, your Excellency may possibly be led to think that the subject has not received the attention it was entitled to: but, as the establishment, to which it was to be inferred from the plan the legacy was intended to be applied, was of a nature and extent which ap-

peared to me to lead to consequences which required the most serious and deliberate consideration, I was not only desirous, but felt it my duty, to collect the sentiments of persons of the most discreet and comprehensive judgment in this kingdom upon so novel and unprecedented an institution, before I submitted it to his Majesty's confidential servants, all of whom, that I have had the good fortune to consult, agree with me in recommending it to your Excellency to let the legacy lapse, and to lay aside, at least, for the present, any thought of such an institution, or of any alteration or modification in the appropriation of the fund arising from the estates granted by King Charles the First, for the establishment of the five schools in the province of Ulster.

"Much doubt is entertained by those with whom I have conversed upon the subject, whether the Revenues of the Estates in question could be diverted from the purpose to which they were originally destined, to be applied in the manner now proposed; and, as for the legacy, it is considered to be utterly inapplicable, because, although it is stated to be intended for the erection of a second University in Armagh, it is not to be presumed that the Primate would have contributed in any manner whatever to the establishment of an institution for the encouragement of Schismatics and Separatists from the Church, of which he was not only the first Minister, but one of the most zealous and devoted members.

However we should have concurred in wishing that Trinity College had not been placed in Dublin, we are far from being prepared to say that a second University would be of public benefit in Ireland, and more especially in the present circumstance of the impending Union, which no means perhaps are so well calculated to perfect and to render us indissolubly one nation, as inducements to the better orders of the people of that kingdom to receive a part of their education either at the Schools or Universities of this country.

I should, therefore, very much hesitate as to the policy of

enlarging at this moment in Ireland the means of education, so far as it regards persons of that description, or in giving any facility to the education of the better classes, and I think it a matter well worthy of consideration, in what manner encouragement can be given to Irishmen to study and take degrees in either of the two English Universities.

As to the advantage which would be derived from such an institution by the emulation it would create in the University of Dublin, I will venture to say that there is not a place of education in any part of his Majesty's dominions, or perhaps in the known world, to which such an argument is so little applicable. If the times had afforded your Excellency leisure and opportunity to be acquainted with the system and course of the studies in Trinity College in Dublin, the exercises performed by the students, the frequent public examinations they undergo, the very severe trials to which those are obliged to submit who are candidates for fellowships, and the sacrifices, in point of health, which are but too often made in the contests which annually take place there for literary fame, I am confident that you would have been of opinion that, instead of using means to raise the spirit of emulation, sound policy, or humanity, at least, rendered it more necessary to consider of means to restrain it within proper bounds.

I shall speak with little less confidence as to the benefit which it has been supposed would arise in assisting the Dissenters in the course of their education. They are not persons of that description, in point of pecuniary circumstances, who are in want of such aid; but, though the policy of the country admits of their being tolerated, as long as it shall judge an Established Religion to be necessary, so long, I conceive, must it be inconsistent for it to give premiums for the profession of other religious persuasions; and I should incline to say that it must be so long impossible for it to establish a school and appoint Divinity Professors, whose doctrines were not subjected to any control or responsibility, and which were in

several respects in opposition to those which the Government of the country was bound to recognise and support.

Without any inconsistency, as I conceive, in the sentiments I have now the honour to communicate to your Excellency, it certainly was, and continues to be, the opinion of the King's servants, that the interests of the Protestant Dissenters should receive an additional mark of his Majesty's favourable attention by a further allowance to their clergy and a new distribution of the bounty which his Majesty should be graciously pleased to grant for that purpose; but, to the best of the recollection of those by whom this measure was entertained and discussed, a principal object in the increasing and new-modelling the allowance to the persons of this persuasion, (which, I must observe, was intended to be restrained to the ministers of that Church, and who were the only persons of that description in the contemplation of those who discussed the point), was, to make them more dependent, and render them more amenable to Government; and one of our principal views was, to prevail upon them by these means to form among themselves some such orders and gradations as prevail in the Established Church in Scotland, to which part of this kingdom, and to its Universities, it is much more desirable that they should resort for their institutions and tenets than to any school or Professor that may be set up in their own country.

As I am willing to hope that the reasons I have stated to your Excellency are sufficient to satisfy you that the opinion of the King's servants has not been lightly taken up, and that it cannot be recommended to his Majesty to give his sanction to the intended appropriation of the late Primate's Legacy, or to the establishment of a second University in Ireland, it may be useless for me to say, that such an institution as has been proposed to your Excellency would never have taken effect without creating such an alarm in the two Universities in this kingdom as would have produced the most serious remonstrances from them against his Majesty's being advised

to assent to such a measure; nor indeed can I believe that the serious and well-disposed people of this country (nine-tenths of whom are members of the Established Church) would be brought to look upon such an experiment as a matter of indifference.

One other circumstance occurs to me, which I am unwilling to pass over, lest it may be resorted to in support of a Dissenting Establishment of the nature proposed, and that is, the Seminary at Maynooth. I must, therefore, observe that that institution took place at a time when the Roman Catholics were deprived of all the means they had till then possessed of having persons educated for holy orders, according to the rules of that Church; that it was solely confined to that purpose, that it was immediately under the eye of Government, and it was revocable at pleasure; and that, although it originated in the manner and for the reasons I have stated, it had the advantage also which has been much and long wished for by some of the best friends of Ireland; that, by affording to those Roman Catholics who were destined for the service of the Church the means of receiving their education in their own country, it tended to prevent the prejudices which those people were but too apt to imbibe by being forced from their native country, in order to qualify themselves for admission to the holy ministry, which, among them, requires a particular course of life, as well as of studies, in which a total seclusion from all worldly intercourse, as well as a series of the most austere and self-denying practices, makes an indispensably necessary part. This case, therefore, will be found, on comparison, not to differ less from that of the Protestant Dissenters than the forms and ceremonies of their respective religions.

But there is still another objection, which, to my mind, must ever be fatal to the establishment of such an institution as has been suggested, and particularly so to that part of it by which it is intended to create a Divinity Professorship. The ideas of dissent and toleration render it, as I conceive, impossible

to form any general rules or orders, in the nature of articles of religion or ecclesiastical canons, by which persons who are suffered to avail themselves of those indulgences can be made liable to any censures or punishments, but for conduct or doctrines which may be deemed blasphemous or seditious; so that, in fact, a professor of the Dissenting University must be at liberty, in points of doctrine and discipline, to hold fast what tenets he pleases, and to counteract any ordinances of the Established Church in that respect, and may exert himself in doing it every injury in his power under the sanction and authority of Government.

I will not enlarge farther upon this subject, because, from the light in which it has been seen by such of his Majesty's servants as have been particularly called upon to consider it, I persuade myself that, when it comes under the consideration of those friends who were prompted by their zeal and attachment to Government to make this proposal to your Excellency, there will remain no difference of opinion with regard to the propriety of laying it entirely aside. From this statement, I trust the difference between the institution at Maynooth and that which is proposed for the Protestant Dissenters at Armagh is so clearly and distinctly marked, as to render it impossible to bring forward the former as a precedent or argument for the establishment of the latter, to which, indeed, if it were prudent to give any countenance, I believe it might be safely left to the Dissenters themselves, who would find the difficulties, in forming such an establishment, to be so numerous as not to be surmounted even by their perseverance.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

The Rev. Dr. Dillon to the Rev. Dr. Troy.

Clare, September 1, 1799.

Most Rev. and Dear Sir—Your favour of the 27th ult., which was forwarded after me to Westport, I received only

this day on my arrival here. Had I been in due time acquainted with the wishes of Lord Castlereagh, I would certainly have attended the County of Galway meeting, though, I must confess, I should have felt myself out of my sphere in a public meeting of that description. It only remains for me at present to request your Lordship will be so obliging as to have my name put to the list. I feel myself each day less shy of publicly declaring my sentiments and wishes relative to the Union. I have had an opportunity, in the course of the parochial visitation of this diocese, which is nearly finished, of observing how little averse the public mind is to that measure; and I have also had an opportunity of acquiring the strongest conviction that this measure alone can restore harmony and happiness to our unhappy country.

I write this scrawl on the altar of a country chapel, but shall soon have leisure to give you a full narrative of my adventures. If I can judge from appearances, the people are heartily sick of rebellion and French politics. There are, however, still some freebooters and outlawed rebels in the mountains of Connemara, which place I have not dared to visit.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
EDWARD DILLON.

Memorial of the Rev. Dr. Coppinger, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, respecting a Notice posted near the Chapel of Ballyntantis, in the neighbourhood of Middleton, County Cork.

Middleton, September 2, 1799.

On Sunday, the eighteenth of August, a Notice against the paying of tithes and assisting the clergyman to draw them was posted up close to the Chapel of Ballyntantis, near Middleton, which, being observed by the parish priest, the Rev. Michael Barry, as he was about to enter the chapel, he remonstrated forcibly against it, and insisted that the people

present should instantly take it down. They did not do so; he, therefore, took it down himself; and, refusing to say mass for them, came off at once to give me an account of the transaction. I expressed, not only to himself, the satisfaction which his conduct here gave me, but went with him to his other chapel at Middleton, where, in presence of a very large congregation, I repeated the encomium, and returned him public thanks. I then laid an interdict upon the Chapel of Ballyntantis, till the parishioners, in a body, should declare their abhorrence of this Notice, and give sufficient reason to expect that they would never again be concerned in nor countenance any similar outrage. The following day, I engaged the parish priest to accompany me to Cove, where we presented the Notice to Sir Charles Ross, to receive his directions, and lay before him what we ourselves had done. He was pleased to signify his approbation, but, at the same time, desired us to let the people know from him that, if any disorderly conduct of that sort should appear there again, he would send troops to live upon them for a month at free quarters. The General's determination was to be announced to them in the chapel-yard the next Sunday, but they came to me before that day, accompanied by their parish priest; for I refused to listen to them without him. They declared their regret for not having taken down the Notice; they endeavoured to exculpate themselves on the score of being concerned in putting it there; they offered to make up, among them, a sum of thirty or forty pounds, as a reward for discovering the guilty person; they promised to oppose unanimously any proceeding of this sort, should such ever be attempted in their parish. The parish priest bore testimony that these people were heretofore the best conducted and the most exemplary under his care, yet I still refused to withdraw the interdict, until, after stating these particulars to the General, I should have his express concurrence. I accordingly wrote to him by one of them, and received the following answer:—

Cove of Cork, August 24, 1799.

Sir—I am happy to learn that the measures which you have adopted appear likely to prevent a repetition of the very unjustifiable proceeding which lately occurred in the parish under Mr. Barry's charge. Nothing can give me more pain than being obliged to adopt severe and rigorous measures, in order to preserve the peace of the country; but, should a similar circumstance occur, I will feel it my duty to make the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the place where any unlawful proceeding takes place entirely responsible for the consequences, unless they produce the guilty persons. It is my anxious wish to preserve the security and tranquillity of the country by the most moderate and lenient measures; but, if obliged to adopt a different line of conduct, the people may be assured that no indulgence shall be shown to offenders. If you think it expedient to take off the interdict laid upon the chapel, I can have no objection to your doing so.

I have the honour to remain, &c.,

CHARLES ROSS, Major-General.

The Rev. Doctor Coppinger.

There is not a sentence in the General's letter that was not literally communicated and strongly enforced at the Chapel of Middleton by myself in English and by the parish priest in Irish; after which I gave him directions to go in person to the Chapel of Ballyntantis, to speak to the people there; and, though I withdrew the interdict, I ordered, at the same time, a sentence of excommunication to be pronounced against any person or persons who should thenceforward be guilty of, or in any wise concerned in, a like offence. This order, with a view to greater formality, I committed to writing, and directed, as a letter, to the parish priest, though I gave it open, out of my own hand, desiring that he himself might seal it, and never, indeed, suspecting that it could be made the subject of a serious complaint against me, as I now perceive it has, by the

following conclusion of Lord Longueville's card to the parish priest of Middleton. "Sir Charles Ross's letter to the titular Bishop was much stronger and more explicit than it appeared to the Bishop to be designed for, by the communication he made of it to Mr. Barry, which is gone to the Lord-Lieutenant." I cannot wish it to come before a better tribunal, and, the above particulars considered, I rest with confidence in the result.

WILLIAM COPPINGER, D.D.

The Duke of Portland to Lord Cornwallis.

Dover, Monday, September 9, 1799.

My Lord—The complete success which has attended the measure which his Majesty was empowered to take by an Act of last Session, of recruiting his regular forces out of the Militia, the eagerness which has been manifested by those corps to alter the nature of their service, and the disappointment which has been almost universally expressed by them on finding themselves restrained from indulging their ardour by the limitation in point of number of those who are to be suffered to enlist, would have been of themselves a strong inducement to the King's servants to submit to his Majesty the propriety of applying again to Parliament to enable him to give a farther scope to the zeal of this description of his subjects, and to acquire for the only deficient part of his strength those sources of activity and energy which would put it upon a par with the other powers of his Government. But, in addition to this encouragement, the course of great and happy events which have providentially succeeded each other in such rapid and uninterrupted order, the general prosperity of the country, and the knowledge of the solidity of our own resources, have so raised the spirits of the people in general, and disposed them to repose such unreserved confidence in Government, and to show such zeal in its support, that, considering the great objects which present themselves in different parts of the world,

and the prospect of bringing this war to such a termination as may not only secure the glory but the happiness of this country, and the general tranquillity of the civilized world, we held it to be our duty humbly to recommend to his Majesty to avail himself of the power with which he is invested by law to order his Parliament to meet at a fortnight's notice for the despatch of business, but, in fact, for the sole purpose of its being proposed to them to pass an Act to enable his Majesty to make another call on the zeal and loyalty of his people for a further recruit from the Militia, which, without diminishing the numbers of the established permanent Militia, shall authorize his Majesty to accept the offer of the services of any number of Militia-men, who may be inclined to enlist in regular regiments, provided the number is not such as to reduce the complement of the Militia below what it was fixed at, in consequence of the laws which existed before the Supplementary Militia was raised. To this his Majesty was pleased to assent; and a council was accordingly held yesterday at Weymouth, on which a Proclamation was ordered to be issued for calling the Parliament which will meet on to-morrow fortnight, the 24th instant, for the despatch of business.

The great and ultimate object for which this step has been taken will obviously suggest to your Excellency the hopes of his Majesty's Government, and the expectation they may entertain of deriving great assistance upon this occasion from the kingdom over which you preside, and particularly from its Militia corps, the generality of whom, it is represented to us, would most gladly enlist in the regiments of the line, and would be generally encouraged to do so by their officers, because I am assured the commanding officers would be able, without difficulty, to settle with the privates of their respective regiments, and to replace them, if it should be thought necessary, at the rate of £10 per man, (the bounty which has been allowed respectively to such of the Militia-men of this country as have enlisted into the regulars,) and it is indeed upon the strength

of the assurances which I have received in this respect, that this wish is now communicated.

As I have suggested a mode of procuring the enlistment of the Militia-men, and have expressed myself in terms that may naturally lead your Excellency to imagine that the Militia in Ireland is not an institution which I should much regret the loss of, I must expressly declare to you that nothing is further from my intention than to guide or influence your opinion in either of these respects. The wish of his Majesty's Government is confined to the acquisition of a large reinforcement of the army out of the Militia, because it would be, and is, the only means of rendering the army efficient and active, and of giving his Majesty, with any degree of certainty, the immediate advantage of a large disposable force in that part of the world, where it could be most usefully and expeditiously employed. But your Excellency will understand that the mode and manner of obtaining it is left entirely to your better information and judgment; and that, provided, of which your experience and attachment to the service do not allow me to doubt, no injury arises to the recruiting service on this side of the water, you may depend upon the full sanction of his Majesty's approbation to any method you may think fit to employ for the attainment of this purpose. But, as the Militiamen cannot be discharged from their present engagement but by the authority of the Legislature, and as it must be obvious to your Excellency that much of the advantage to be derived from the measure will arise from the despatch with which it is carried into effect, you will, I dare say, have anticipated the wish I am to signify to you that no time may be lost in conferring with those whom you may think proper to consult on the subject, in order that a Proclamation may issue for the calling of the Irish Parliament, in the same manner and for the same purpose as that for which I have acquainted you that his Majesty held yesterday a Council at Weymouth; and with this view I have to propose that the conferences respecting the

Union should be deferred until this measure has been carried in Ireland; because I must presume that, on such an occasion, the presence of the Chancellor, Lord Castlereagh, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Beresford, must be indispensably necessary; although the Session need not last more than a week, and, in the space of another week, or ten days at most, the Bill may be returned, and the King's assent may be signified to your Excellency. This proceeding, therefore, though it must necessarily retard the proposed meetings respecting the Union, need not defer them more than three weeks at most; and, as it is your Excellency's intention not to assemble the Parliament of Ireland before Christmas, and as that of this kingdom has no occasion to meet earlier, the time that is most convenient to Lord Castlereagh and the other gentlemen to come over for settling the arrangements relative to this great measure cannot but suit us, and it is therefore our desire that the appointment should be left entirely to them.

I cannot conclude this letter, without having the satisfaction of acquainting your Excellency that his Royal Highness the Duke of York embarked yesterday evening at Deal, to take upon him the command of his Majesty's troops, and those of the Emperor of Russia, which are destined for the deliverance of Holland, and the re-establishment of its ancient government; that the remainder of the troops which are to serve under his Royal Highness will be all embarked in the course of to-morrow and Wednesday, and that accounts were received yesterday of the arrival of the Russians on Saturday, in Yarmouth Roads, so that, in all probability, they will reach the Texel before, or at the same time with, the troops which are now embarking in the Downs. I again beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on the success of his Majesty's forces under Sir Ralph Abercromby, and the surrender of the Dutch fleet, which most auspicious beginning there is reason to hope, from Sir Ralph Abercromby's letters of yesterday, is not likely to

be injured by any event which is at present to be apprehended.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

PORTLAND.

The Marquess of Waterford to Lord Castlereagh.

September 9, 1799.

My dear Lord—I do not hesitate in pronouncing that the opinion of the County and City of Waterford is nearly unanimous in favour of Union; that my own idea was, at the assizes it might have been passed and carried; and that I acted on what was determined on at the meeting we had at the Park, where the resolutions in favour of Union were decided. In County, they are decided in the resolutions presented by the High Sheriff, and in the City in those agreed to with equal unanimity, which were avoided by the corporation being presented, and which, however late, I think still ought be taken up. They are at this moment in the hands of the Dean of Waterford. I take the proper mode to be to force them into notice, to found fresh resolutions on them, as full as you desire and as explicit; but, from their being smothered in the city, I think they ought to be revived first there, and great care taken that nothing should wear the remotest appearance of surprise. Guarding against that, I have no objection to what his Excellency wishes; at the same time, I do not think you are aware of the situation of the country, and that you have put the yeomanry off permanent pay at the moment it is in the most dangerous situation since the rebellion. To me it is evident that the Anti-Unionists co-operate with the ill-affected in the country, in drawing every power against Union, and in endeavouring to draw the whole weight to rise and murder all the friends of Union. At first, I laughed at the reports I heard; but, from the reports I heard, and the information I have had, I am decided the entire lower class are on the point to rise and murder. From the accounts I gave Lord Corn-

wallis, I flattered myself his Excellency would have authorized me to re-establish the yeomanry on pay. In the present alarm, I know it will be unwise and unpopular not to do it, and that I shall in a few days be drove to send Lady W. and my girls to Dublin, unless it is fully done. I could not have conceived that nearly all the under-tenants on my own estate are in league to murder, burn, and destroy this house, property, and the entire residence. I intreat the yeomanry again. There is one point I beg to guard you against—you know Judge Kelly. I send you an application. I thought it sufficiently founded to apply to him, and believe it a very hard case. I shall say no more.

I am, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,

WATERFORD.

Lord John found on Friday night several pikes just made, several handles just hewed out, and the forges red-hot. Two of the smiths are in custody; they all acknowledged the intention to rise.

INFORMATION.

Informant sayeth, that he had a conversation on Saturday night last with A. B.: that he was informed by him that the French were not to be depended on; that there were apprehensions entertained that, were they permitted to take a part, they might be worse than our present rulers; that Ireland was all new organized, and meant to proceed on a new principle; that Union was the word for rising all over the kingdom. That on the 29th of last month, had the Parliament met the 27th, the City of Dublin was to have risen, and, the second day after, the whole kingdom would have been up; that the rising in Dublin was to be the general signal; but that, the Parliament being adjourned, nothing would be done until the next meeting. He laughed at the idea of the Catholics in Dunganon and elsewhere, signing for the Union; he said the Protestants must go, that the Catholics would have their turn, that

it was better to be hanged than lose their rights, meaning by a Union, and said that the Orangemen, so many of them as were averse to Union, would join the Catholics in preventing it; said there were no arms about Dunganon, that they did not want them, and that there were plenty in Tip.

A. M., in County Waterford, was last week sworn a rebel; sent himself for a friend to swear him. Informant says, he wishes so much to be of service to his country, that, if approved of, he will apparently become a rebel, and enter into their plans, to be able the more effectually to blow them up. Says that A. B. has great friendship for him, but will not fully open his mind, unless he should swear, &c., &c.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Bayham Abbey, September 11, 1799.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Though I am in great haste, I cannot help writing a few lines to thank you for your letter of the 4th, and to congratulate you on the successful issue of the Galway meeting, which is, in every point of view, a most satisfactory event. You would have heard from me in the beginning of the last week, if I had learned any thing new or worth relating at Bulstrode. I do not find, however, that much has been done on this side of the water towards increasing your Parliamentary strength. The Duke of Portland does not seem to despair of Lord Downshire; but he is always sanguine; and I could not collect that he had much foundation for his hopes. I believe he chiefly relies on the King's influence over Lord Downshire. The King had told the Duke, that when Lord Downshire was last in his closet, he (Lord D.) said, at the conclusion of the audience, that "a Union would be the only means of saving Ireland." The Duke was not able to ascertain the precise period of the interview to which the King alluded, but conceived it to have taken place nine or ten months ago.

The Speaker returns to Collon by Scotland. The Duke of Portland has been informed that it might not be impracticable to open a negociation with him. The Duke received his intelligence from Pelham; and, on mentioning the subject to Pelham, I found that Douglas had picked up some suggestion of the sort from Lees,[1] who, I believe, had formed his conjecture on the language of some of the Speaker's friends. Lord Camden, too, entertains an idea of this nature, from a passage in a letter which he has received from the Speaker. All this is a mere suspicion. Lord Sheffield,[2] who, you know, is in habits of intimacy with the Speaker, seems to think that he looks to overturning the measure in the detail; and this, I confess, appears to me the most probable line for him to take. If his *sincere* support and assistance in the detail could be obtained, it would certainly be a most important acquisi-

[1] John Lees, a native of North Britain, went to Ireland as private secretary to Marquess Townshend, when Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom; afterwards held the appointments of Secretary at War and Secretary of the Post Office there, and was created a Baronet in 1804.

[2] John Baker Holroyd, created Peer of Ireland in 1781, of Great Britain in 1802, as Baron Sheffield, and advanced to the Earldom of Sheffield in the Irish Peerage in 1816. He was President of the Board of Agriculture, a Lord of Trade, and a member of the Privy Council. Being elected into Parliament for Coventry shortly before the No-Popery riots in 1780, when Lord George Gordon, who exerted himself but too successfully to instil his own fanatical spirit into the mob, brought up to the House of Commons their violent petitions against the Roman Catholics, it is related that Mr. Holroyd, laying hold of his Lordship, said, "Hitherto I have imputed your conduct to madness, but now I perceive that it has more of malice than madness in it;" adding that, if any of the rabble whom he headed should force an entrance into the House, he would instantly inflict summary vengeance on his Lordship as the instigator.

Lord Sheffield was the most intimate friend of Gibbon, the historian, to whose memory he did honour in the publication of his Memoirs and posthumous works, in three quarto volumes. His own rather numerous literary productions were chiefly on subjects connected with trade and commerce: one of them, treating of the manufactures, trade, and present state of Ireland, appeared in 1785, and a third edition in 1792.

tion; but it would be very difficult to secure such aid from him; and you have experienced that he can render his friendship more troublesome and injurious than his hostility.

Lord Camden is quite well, and is perfectly cordial on Irish politics. Your visit to London will be very well timed, as all the ministers will be in town for the meeting of Parliament, which is to be convened on the 25th, merely for the purpose of enabling Government to procure more recruits for the line from the Militia.

I heartily felicitate you on the glorious result of the expedition to the Texel. Government are despatching great reinforcements to Holland. There still seems much uncertainty with respect to the progress we are likely to make there. If the French should retire into the fortresses, the campaign may be protracted to a great length. The counsels and efforts of Russia continue to be most magnanimous. Nevertheless, all our prospects may be blasted by the perverse and selfish views of Austria and the obstinate infatuation of Prussia.

A thousand thanks to you for the offer of an apartment in your house; but surely I cannot avail myself of your kindness without crowding you. I shall be very near you, at Grenier's, and will at least stay there until it is clearly ascertained that you can receive me without inconvenience.

Farewell. I have written a much longer letter than I intended, or than indeed I ought to have done, as I am going out with Lord Camden, and am late.

Believe me ever, &c.,

WILLIAM ELLIOT.

Sir J. C. Hippisley to Lord Castlereagh.

20, Lower Grosvenor Street, Saturday Morning.

My Lord—A recent severe domestic misfortune has prevented me from paying my personal respects to your Lordship, on your arrival in this kingdom. I came to town last night

for two or three days, and, could I learn when your Lordship would be at leisure for a few minutes, I would do myself the honour of waiting on you. I have the pleasure of enclosing, in the mean time, a copy of a letter from Dr. Moylan, having communicated it also to the Duke of Portland.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. C. HIPPISLEY.

Rev. Dr. Moylan to Sir J. C. Hippisley.

Dublin, September 14, 1799.

My dear Sir—Knowing how much you interest yourself in the welfare of this poor country, I deferred complying with the friendly wish you expressed, of my writing to you from hence, until I could form a judgment of the state of public affairs in it. It is with the most cordial satisfaction I now inform you, that they seem to stand on as pleasing a footing as the circumstances of the times can well admit of. The measures taken by the present humane and enlightened administration have contributed very much to its tranquillity; and, except in those places where the Orange influence prevails, peace and good order appear to be re-established. In the county of Wexford and its neighbouring counties, outrages still continue to be committed, which mark too visibly the rancorous spirit of religious bigotry. Roman Catholic chapels have been lately burned or profaned, and their clergy persecuted. But we must hope that the Proclamation lately issued by Government, and the orders sent down to the commanding officers in the disturbed districts, will put a stop to such shameful and violent excesses. Nothing, in my opinion, will more effectually tend to lay those disgraceful and scandalous party feuds and dissensions, and restore peace and harmony amongst us, than the great measure in contemplation of the legislative Union and incorporation of this kingdom with Great Britain.

I am happy to tell you it is working its way, and daily gaining ground on the public opinion. Several counties, which

appeared most averse to it, have now declared for it, and I have no doubt but, with the blessing of God, it will be effected, notwithstanding the violent opposition of Mr. Foster and his party, who will strain every nerve, and move heaven and earth, to prevent its succeeding. They are a very powerful faction. God grant they may not have recourse to the infernal means so often made use of for political party purposes of exciting underhand, by their agents, the poor, easily deluded people, to riot and insurrection, in order to embarrass Government! The Roman Catholics in general are avowedly for the measure. In the South, where they are the most numerous, they have declared in its favour, and I am sure they will do the same in the other parts of the kingdom, unless overawed (as I know they are in some counties) by the dread of the powerful faction that opposes it. In this City, where the outcry against it has been so very violent, it is becoming every day less unpopular, and I am persuaded that the Roman Catholic inhabitants will in time testify their approbation of it. A rumour has been industriously propagated, no doubt by the enemies of the Union, that this measure, once effected, would preclude for ever the Roman Catholics of this kingdom from the hopes of further emancipation, and that, under the Imperial Parliament, the junto who oppressed them would still prevail, and hold the reins of the Government of this country; but I am confident this report is not grounded, and I trust that the British cabinet, in its great wisdom and foresight, will see the expediency of a liberal arrangement, in which his Majesty's loyal subjects of every description, without any religious distinction, will be equally included, all seeds of disaffection removed, and such political principles adopted, as will serve cordially to unite the people of this kingdom together in mutual benevolence towards each other, in attachment to the Imperial constitution, and in love and affection for our most gracious sovereign, and the support of his Majesty's Government.

The provision intended to be made for the Roman Catholic

clergy of this kingdom is a measure worthy an enlightened Government, and we cannot but be thankful for it. I apprehend, however, that it will not serve to preserve and strengthen their influence over these poor people, unless something be done at the same time for their relief. Their enemies, and the enemies of the peace and good order of the country, would avail themselves of it to estrange the minds of the poor people from us, by insinuating to them (as it appears by the report of the secret committee they did before) that we were pensioned by Government to support its measures against the people, and that we attended only to our own interests, without any attention to their miseries and distress. Thus they would weaken that influence which the welfare of the country requires our clergy should have over their poor people. I deem it, therefore, highly expedient that, when his Majesty's Government shall, in its goodness and wisdom, determine on providing for the decent support of the Catholic clergy of this kingdom, something should be at the same time, or previous to it, done for the relief of the poor people of this country. There is one object that would peculiarly claim their attention; I mean, the mode heretofore followed of collecting the tithes by proctors. Far be it from me to harbour the most distant idea of lessening, in the smallest degree, the income of the gentlemen of the Established Church, but I am convinced that, unless the mode of collecting the tithes be changed, it will be an annual source of disaffection. This is the opinion of the best friends of Government, and of many of the right reverend prelates of the Established Church.

Lord Castlereagh sailed last night for England. I wish him, from my heart, a pleasant journey and a safe return. I have many obligations to his Lordship: he has been uncommonly civil and attentive to me. He is a most amiable nobleman, and well qualified to fill, with credit to himself and advantage to the nation, the high office he is stationed in. I hope he will have the satisfaction of seeing the great measure

of Union completed, to the general content of both kingdoms, under his administration. Give me leave to request you'll make my respectful salutes acceptable to the Duke of Portland. I can never forget his polite attention to me. I intend setting off from hence on Monday next, on my return home to Cork, where I shall be happy to hear from you.

I have the honour to be, in perfect truth, yours, &c.,

H. MOYLAN.

Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland.

Dublin Castle, September 18, 1799.

My Lord—I have had a conversation with the Chancellor, who has no doubt of our right to reduce five thousand of our Militia, and agrees with me in thinking that, in the first instance, a greater diminution than five thousand men cannot be proposed. He proceeds this evening to England, but will be ready, if your Grace, after conversing with him, should desire it, to return on the shortest notice.

Your Grace will observe that the question of assembling our Parliament immediately is still open to the decision of his Majesty's ministers; and, whatever may be their final instructions, I shall use my utmost exertions to carry them into execution. In the mean time, I do not see that any mischief can arise from a short delay, and our hands will be afterwards strengthened by the example of the British Parliament. It is with great concern that I have learned that the idea which occasioned so much trouble and difficulty last year, of the right of the English Militia to return within a month after the meeting of Parliament in England, has again been entertained by the regiments composing the garrison of Dublin; that it has been a matter of conversation among the officers; and that assemblies of the non-commissioned officers have been held on the subject: but I do not yet know the full extent of the evil.

The accounts which we have this day received from the South are more favourable; and, although there is certainly

much mischief working in the country, I have no apprehension of an immediate rising. I enclose to your Grace the last letter which I have received from Lieutenant-General Lake.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, September 18, 1799.

My dear Lord—I think you will persuade Ministers not to call Parliament at present.

You could not spare 10,000 men. Be assured that the Defender system is spreading dangerously. You have seen accounts from Clonmell, &c. I have information that the spirit is reviving in Dublin, and the district of Howth has been newly sworn. If, however, you could change Irish militia for British troops of any kind, so much the better, except for a Union argument.

I have an intimation that Lee and Alcock will certainly support you.

Lord and Lady Conyngham are arrived. I think they will invite his Excellency to Slane. I have no answer yet from Lord Roden.[1]

We have a Catholic declaration from Longford. I am promoting one in Roscommon. Lord Dillon[2] will be in town to-morrow.

I enclose a philippic from Lord Clanricarde.[3] Lord Kilconnell and his Lordship had once a contested election before the Grenville Act took place. Lord Clanricarde had the real majority, but Lord Kilconnell beat him through his superior management in Parliament.

The talk of the coffee-houses now is that the Union will be carried.

The Chancellor sailed to-day. He says he can part legally

[1] Robert, second Earl. [2] Charles, twelfth Viscount.
[3] John Thomas, thirteenth Earl.

with the militia above 70 a company. I showed him the Act. The augmentation above 70 is discretionary, and consequently the disbanding of it discretionary.

Ever most truly, &c.,

E. COOKE.

I am reading Douglas: it is not popular enough.

Colonel Littlehales[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Dublin Castle, September 25, 1799.

My dear Lord—I am much obliged by two communications from your Lordship, one of which Dawes, the messenger, delivered to me this day; and from him my Lord-Lieutenant received your letter from London, dated Sunday last. I am desired by his Excellency to enclose to you a copy of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Velley, of the Oxford militia, with a copy of the return accompanying it, in which you will see that a small proportion of that regiment have volunteered an extension of services to the 1st of March next; and I am concerned to add that there is scarcely any expectation that the West York and Cambridge will offer to remain during the winter; indeed, it is represented that they are unanimous in their wish to return immediately to England. In this untoward predicament, Lord Cornwallis is desirous that his Majesty's Ministers should obtain an intimation through your Lordship of the critical and embarrassing situation in which the departure of the English militia corps will place this country. His Excellency will, of course, write to the Duke of Portland, whenever he is fully acquainted with the positive determination of these regiments.

Since my last communication, no report from General Lake or Sir Charles Asgill has been made: it is right, therefore, to presume that the Counties of Waterford and Tipperary are tolerably quiet.

[1] Private Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant.

I understand Cooke will join your Lordship in the course of a few days. You may be assured of hearing from me whenever there is any information necessary for you to know, and with which I am acquainted.

I have delivered the sketch of the route you sent me to Cooke, but Lord Cornwallis is apprehensive that, under present circumstances, it is too extensive.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Phœnix Park, September 26, 1799.

My dear Lord—Littlehales informed you by yesterday's mail of the arrival of Dawes, and indeed of every national circumstance that has occurred. The most unpleasant business is the prospect of the immediate departure of the three regiments of English militia now in Dublin, which will be probably followed by that of the Pembroke. After this reduction of our force, it would not, in my opinion, be possible, even if the sanction of Parliament could be obtained, to take away at this moment ten thousand men from our militia, and, under a choice of difficulties, I think that the plan which you mention of making an immediate augmentation to the militia would be most advisable; the Colonels will cry out that they are to be crimps and drill-serjeants for the army, but there is no help for it; and I trust that the precedent in England will make it go down.

Since I wrote the above, it has been suggested to me that the chance of augmenting the several militia regiments of this kingdom is by no means equal, and that the business would probably be sooner effected if the companies in some regiments were not to be made so strong, whilst entire companies might be added to those regiments, who could complete with the greatest facility.

I only throw this out that they may consider in England

whether any discretionary power might be left to us of this kind in the execution of the measure.

There is certainly mischief working in various parts of the country, and Marsden thinks in Dublin and its vicinity. In the mean time, the same wretched business of Courts-martial, hanging, transporting, &c., attended by all the dismal scenes of wives, sisters, fathers, kneeling and crying, is going on as usual, and holds out a comfortable prospect for a man of any feeling. Cooke will sail to-morrow night.

Yours, &c., CORNWALLIS.

As soon as the plan for the militia is settled, I shall set out for the North.

Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, September 28, 1799.

My Lord—Mr. Cooke sailed for England last night, and, as he will soon reach your Lordship, it is unnecessary for me to notice any matters which have occurred previously to his leaving this.

To-day I received from M'Naghten the resolutions of the County of Antrim, which I enclose: they are signed by 1,520 persons, and, as it is an object to publish this soon, I shall have it done without waiting to hear from you. The Donegal and Tyrone signatures are filling fast, and will both be very numerous.

You will have heard from his Excellency of the change in his route, by which he will go to Belfast before he visits Lord Londonderry: a letter from May, which I also send you, induces this variation, and, as it will be of consequence to find May on the spot, the alteration may be for the best; at the same time, I am anxious that Lord Cornwallis should confer with his friends at Mount Stewart at an early period of his journey, as they will best understand the temper of the North. Your Lordship will observe the latter part of May's letter, which neither Littlehales nor I could reply to, as we neither of us know what had been arranged with him.

I have everything encouraging to pronounce on the progress which Union makes. It is going on silently and persuasively, and it is by no means desirable that this progression should be disturbed for some time to come. The new attempts at rebellion, of which we have serious proofs, will not impede the Union, but in other views they are very unpleasant. The proceedings of the Court-martials at Clonmel show that many were engaged, and their schemes nearly ripe for execution. In Dublin and other places we have informations of meetings.

As the hopes of the disaffected are kept up partly by what the agitation of the question of Union may produce, and partly by promise of succour from France, it is of the utmost importance that our military force should not be too much reduced; and I trust your Lordship will not consider the conquest of Holland to be a greater object, however others may.

Your Lordship's very faithful, &c.,

ALEXANDER MARSDEN.

Mr. Marsden to Colonel Littlehales.

Dublin Castle, September 29, 1799.

Dear Sir—The petition which is transmitted with Mr. Griffith's letter, brings forward a question of very considerable importance, and must be viewed as including more matter than merely the interests of the Grand Canal Company. I conceive that the object which the petitioners aim at is a declaration from his Excellency that, in arranging the business of the Union, the particular interests of Dublin shall be attended to, and some advantages be secured to the capital, to counterbalance the injury which it is calculated that the removal of the Parliament and the local superiority of other sea-ports of the kingdom may be likely to occasion.

As these injuries are possible, and are certainly thought by many probable, it would be very desirable to interest the minds of the inhabitants of Dublin by a prospect of some advantages being acquired by them, provided this can be done without producing discontents in other parts of the kingdom, which are

already jealous of the capital, and that the entertaining of the question by Government did not of itself admit that the capital is likely to be injured, and so far strengthen an opinion which must continue for some time problematical. If these objections did not stand in the way, and a practicable mode of advancing the interests of the capital could be adopted, I confess it strikes me to be peculiarly desirable to adopt such a measure.

The withdrawing the bounty on the carriage of corn was a good measure upon the whole; but it has certainly affected the interests of the capital and of the petitioners more particularly. I do not think that any attention ought to be paid to the desire of restoring the former bounties; but, if a bounty could be paid on the conveyance of goods by the canals, and assistance be given for extending them to the Shannon, and otherwise increasing their communication with remote parts of the kingdom, the advantages which Dublin would derive from hence would be certain and considerable; and the kingdom at large might, and indeed must, be benefitted by such extension of communication. A preference of this kind, secured for twenty years or so, might effect the purpose. All this, however, is for very wise and serious consideration, and the petitioners, I think, cannot have an answer delivered to them until the principal point is determined upon. In the mean time, as his Excellency is going out of town, and Lord Castlereagh is in England, Mr. Griffith may be answered for the present.

I have gone, perhaps, too much at length into this matter; but it strikes me as involving considerations of much importance in the question of Union.

Yours very sincerely, &c.,

ALEXANDER MARSDEN.

Luke Fox, Esq.[1] *to Lord Castlereagh.*

Harcourt Street, October 7, 1799.

My Lord—Though I am fully sensible that I may subject myself to the imputation of being deemed one of those busy

[1] Afterwards raised to the bench as Judge of Common Pleas.

obtrusive dabblers, who are constantly the plagues of statesmen, yet I cannot refrain from suggesting to your Lordship a few hints on the present important crisis. I feel so deeply the magnitude of the great business which engages your Lordship's attention, that I deem it a duty to furnish such observations as, from much reading, long observation, and a thorough knowledge of this country, present themselves to my mind.

To begin, without further preface, in the words of a great man: "*Omnis Gallia in tres partes divisa est.*" It is a first principle to consider the component parts of Irish population, their relative numbers, and how they stand affected to the question of Union. The population of Ireland, taken from Mr. Burke's pamphlet, calculated from the returns of the hearth-tax, is four millions five hundred thousand. I think the number considerably greater, but it will answer for my present purpose. This mass of people composes three distinct nations, as different in character, and principles, and habits of life, as the Antipodes. The object is to form them into one *united* people under the rule of the British constitution, and to unite, by sentiment and interest, that people to Great Britain. Our fleets may display their triumphant flags in every quarter of the globe; our troops may conquer, but barren are their laurels and futile their triumphs, when compared to the advantages likely to result to Great Britain and Ireland from this measure in a military, commercial, and financial point of view. But, to proceed to delineate the mode—it is material to observe how these three distinct bodies, the Protestants, the Presbyterians, and the Catholics, stand affected to the question of Union.

The Protestants, composing about 500,000 souls, the descendants of English colonists, possess the whole power and patronage, and almost the whole landed property of the country. They are, of course, political monopolists, and can only be gained by influence.

The Catholics composing the mass of the population amounting at least to three millions of souls, the descendants of the

original inhabitants, or of colonists who degenerated, and, in the language of the historian, not very classical but strong, became *Hibernicis ipsis Hiberniores*, are for the most part poor, uneducated, and ignorant, desiring weight almost solely from their numbers, added to a natural vigour of body and astuteness of mind, capable, under a proper regimen, of being modelled to the most beneficial ends, both civil and military. They are at present in the lowest state of political depression, in a semi-barbarous state, (as has been truly observed) and thereby eminently qualified to answer the continual drains on a great commercial empire, to supply her fleets and armies in every accessible quarter of the globe. These are to be gained by *concession*.

The Protestants are, from every motive of a monopolizing interest, determined opponents to the scheme of Union, by which they must lose that monopoly of power and profit, which it is not in human nature voluntarily to resign when once possessed, and more especially when it acquires, by length of possession, the semblance of a rightful title.

The Catholics are, from every motive of interest, and from still stronger principles of jealousy, competition, and hatred, disposed at any risk to get rid of their present rulers. They are impatient to emerge from slavery into the class of British citizens. But these sentiments have been strongly repelled by a certain cautious backwardness, which has been manifested in the language of all the speeches, pamphlets, and answers to their addresses. This has proceeded from a vain fear that encouraging the Catholics to expect liberal concessions would disgust and alienate the Protestants. Vain is that fear, when the Protestant knows that, by yielding to a Union, he descends from the state of a *Ruler*, with all its high and profitable appurtenances, to the level of a simple citizen. Does any man think that Mr. Foster and Mr. Ponsonby are actuated by such motives?—Religion is a mere pretence—the true bone of contention is the monopoly of Irish power and patronage. The

family of the latter have been Irish undertakers; the former aspires to a similar distinction; religion and independence are but words used to cajole and delude the multitude. Not a Protestant will be lost by holding out concession to the Catholics, and three millions of men will be gained in hand and heart to co-operate, actively and strenuously, to procure and maintain this great and essential change.

The concession that occurs to my mind is, in the first place, an alteration, or rather an explanation, of the Oath of Supremacy. The history of this oath is very peculiar. It was first enacted in the reign of Henry the Eighth, a furious Papist, to defend himself against the usurpations of the Pope. It was enacted by a Popish Legislature, and taken universally and without scruple by a Popish laity and clergy, both in England and in Ireland. This Act was afterwards repealed under Queen Mary, and was again re-enacted, with very considerable alterations, in the second year of Queen Elizabeth. In the Oath of Supremacy required by the statute of Henry the Eighth, he was declared *sole Head of the Church of England.* This at first gave no offence to the conscience of the most rigid Catholic, as it was understood only to import a civil supremacy, by no means interfering with the mere spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope. Besides, this distinction was well known and had been recognised by repeated statutes, particularly by the Statutes of Provision, Provisors, and Premunire, all enacted under Popish Princes in Popish times, and which were enacted merely to repel the encroachments of the Popes on the civil jurisdiction of our Kings. This kind of supremacy was likewise asserted by the Kings of France invariably, and was enforced by their Parliament with vigilance and vigour.

But, in the interval between the first and second Oath of Supremacy, the sect of the Jesuits had been formed, who revived the spirit of Papal encroachment, and infused new and, till then, unheard-of scruples to the King of England being the *Supreme Head* of the Church. Queen Elizabeth, with great

temper and magnanimity, disdained to enter into a scholastic dispute, and omitted this expression in the new Oath, and so it has remained ever since. But the Jesuits were still active and persevering, and, contrary to all sense and reason, started fresh scruples as to allowing any ecclesiastical supremacy, and quibbled and perverted the import of the new oath to mean and intend a spiritual and not a civil supremacy. In vain did all the lawyers of the time expound the new oath to mean nothing more than was before established by the Statute and common Law of England from time immemorial.

There is extant a speech of Sir John Davis on this subject, made at the Council Board when he was Attorney-General of Ireland, after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, explaining to the Catholics of Ireland the meaning and import of this oath, in order to induce them to take it. But the Irish Popish Clergy, educated then as they have been ever since, until lately, in seminaries instituted under Philip the Second in the Low Countries, in a formulary instituted by the Jesuits in the plenitude of religious and political perversion, overruled the law and argument of Sir John Davis, and persuaded the Irish Catholics to a man to refuse the oath. This refusal, once established under the colour and pretence of conscience, has been persevered in ever since, and is now, as it was then and since, the sole bar to an Irish or English Catholic holding any office of trust or profit under the Crown.

This Oath, I submit to your Lordship, might in these times, when the Papal temporal and spiritual powers are extinct, and in no shape to be dreaded, be so framed in clear and explicit terms as to import nothing more than the sovereign Supremacy of the King of England over all his subjects of every religious persuasion. Thereby the royal prerogative would be extended, by enabling his Majesty to avail himself of the voices of all his subjects, and no danger could be apprehended to the Established Church, as such prerogative must be exercised by a Protestant King, and no other. I have been led insensibly

into a greater length on this subject than I at first intended, but the great importance of it must excuse me to your Lordship, for I must again and again repeat it to your Lordship, that, without comprehending the Catholics in interest and principle, a Union between the two countries can be neither durable nor useful.

In addition to an explanation of the Oath of Supremacy, it will be necessary to enlighten the expounders of it, namely, the Irish Catholic clergy. A step has been already made to this by establishing the College of Maynooth. But there is a radical defect in that institution, which requires to be remedied. The leaven of the old Jesuitical formulary is retained, which is no more adapted to these times than Ignatius Loyola would be to frame the code of Union.

His Majesty, by virtue of his royal prerogative, has the superintendence of the education of his subjects, and has a power of framing statutes for the discipline and education to be observed in Universities and Colleges. This power has been frequently exercised, and I see no reason why it may not be beneficially exercised again, by substituting a rational system of classical, scientific, religious, and moral education, for the perverted and mischievous scholastic jargon of the Flemish seminaries. Besides, I think this College ought to be incorporated with another University; either that of Dublin, or the new one intended for Armagh, or some other. My object in this is to have the youth of the kingdom, whether Protestant or Catholic, educated together as they are in Holland and many parts of Germany. The union arising from youthful friendships is the strongest and most durable, and would tend much to reconcile the next generation to each other.

In that my ideas go still further. I think his Majesty ought to be invested with the patronage of Popish bishoprics and other Popish dignities, as the French king at all times was, in order to create that necessary dependence, which ought at all times to subsist, of the clergy on the Crown. This would, in fact, incorporate and unite for ever, politically, the two reli-

gions, and the State would be reaping the solid benefits of civil obediences, whilst the Schools were disputing on the harmless position of Transubstantiation. But I am not sure that things are quite ripe for this measure yet, but sure I am that the times are ripe for making a decent provision for the Irish Catholic Clergy and a commutation of Tithes, which is not only an obnoxious but a most baneful system, destructive of the industry and agriculture of the country.

The third class of Irish subjects, the Presbyterians of the North, are so well known to your Lordship, that it would be a presumption in me to say anything about them. They are entirely indifferent as to what form of monarchical government they are doomed by their hard fate to live under. If they cannot have the blessings of civil as well as ecclesiastical equality, they become so indifferent to all political concerns, that they will not quit their looms or bleach-greens for a day to repair to their county towns to express their assent to or dissent from the trivial question of Union. Napper Tandy could arm them; but neither the disinterested patriotism of Mr. Foster nor the venerable shade of Lord Charlemont can excite the smallest exertion in the odious cause of Monarchy. They are *neutral*, and not to be meddled with. You see, my Lord, that I write with the most unreserved confidence, being aware that I repose both my follies and indiscretions in a friendly and honourable asylum. I have scarcely left room to express the sentiments of respect and esteem with which I have the honour to be, &c., LUKE FOX.

Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Belfast, October 9, 1799.

My dear Lord—Nothing could have succeeded better than Lord Cornwallis's visit to this place: all classes and descriptions of persons have been forward in manifesting every mark of respect and attention to his Excellency; and the men who did not, *for certain reasons*, subscribe to the dinner given to

my Lord-Lieutenant by the Corporation and principal inhabitants of Belfast were the Bishop of Down and Dr. Halliday. It was generally and indeed unequivocally considered as a pledge to support the *measures* of his Excellency's administration.

Mr. May has been most strenuous and active in the arrangements in favour of Union, and has been personally attentive to Lord Cornwallis in all respects. His Excellency is highly pleased with his conduct, and begs your Lordship will have the goodness to show all possible civility. It seems an object of consideration to return Mr. May for one of the vacant seats. He would probably take a decided and manly part; and he appears to have great sway and influence with the people of this town, but it seems doubtful whether he would purchase.

I send your Lordship a list of the persons that were present at the dinner given to the Lord-Lieutenant. I also enclose a sketch of his Excellency's route. He will scarcely reach Dublin before the 28th instant. If it is an object to visit Newry, I beg to receive a line from your Lordship by return of the post.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

The Bishop of Down wished to have subscribed and to have come to the dinner; but, as the presence of an avowed enemy to the Union would have interfered with the object of the meeting, it was conveyed to him, in terms that could not give offence, that it would be better he should not be present.

Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin, October 10, 1799.

My Lord—All perfectly quiet here, and Union sentiments gaining ground.

I send your Lordship a copy of information as to the progress of a new rising. It comes from a friend of Mr. Cooke's

in the Custom House. I cannot say that it occasions much alarm in my mind. The servants probably act saucily in families which have heretofore talked treason too freely in their presence.

I send also a copy of a letter received here, not wholly uninteresting, which relates to the Island of Jamaica, and which goes to corroborate the opinion of some who think that the West Indies, rather than Ireland, is the object of the French.

Your Lordship's, &c.,

ALEXANDER MARSDEN.

October 8, 1799.

I have received information from a Papist, who is a moderate man, and rather loyal than otherwise. He hinted the business to me in accidental conversation, and I invited him to dine; and, over a bottle of champagne, I received the following information.

He has property in the City, and a tract of land in the County Kildare. He employs constantly about twenty labourers; his wife, he says, is a stanch rebel, and in the secret of everything that is to happen; but, as he is moderate, she refuses to communicate to him her sentiments; but he has sufficient hints from others to make him conclude that, in about two weeks, there is likely to be great confusion.

Says Popish women are to take an active part, and be armed; thinks a massacre of all rich heads of families may be the object.

The Papists consent to a Union because it will ruin this kingdom, and are so disappointed and exasperated against Government, that they would destroy the Government, sacrifice their own lives, and sink with them.

Says that the execution of Byrne at Wicklow has caused many labourers to quit the County Kildare, supposed through fear of being apprehended.

Says that, since the execution of Byrne, some meetings have

taken place, and that the Papists have lost confidence in Government.

Says that the soldiery in general are to take part in the intended revolt.

Says that, having shown an unwillingness to listen to the business some time back, he is a suspected person, and afraid to go to sleep at his farm, which is near the demesne of Mr. Stenny, at Strafton, and near Lord Cloncurry's house.

Says that Cloncurry House, and the house of Stenny, of Strafton, is the grand place for nightly meetings.

Says both houses are only in the care of servants.

Says he was yesterday advised by a Papist resident near his farm neither to buy winter stock for his farm nor sleep in the country.

From my own observation, the Papist servants in country and town have shown the last week every degree of daring insolence, particularly the women, some of whom behaved humble and proper during the Rebellion, but now are perfectly indifferent whether their conduct is approved or disapproved, and throw out hints of something that will soon come to pass. I have observed this in my own family, and my neighbours' servants act in like manner.

A letter to the Rev. William Miller, of Six-mile Bridge, from his sister in Jamaica, gives an alarming account of the political state of the Island. A vast number of United Irishmen, transported from this kingdom, have been landed there, and incautiously drafted into the regiments on that service. As soon as they got arms into their hands, they deserted, and fled into the mountains, where they have been joined by large bodies of the natives and such of the French as were in the island. There have already been some engagements between this party and the King's troops; several have been killed and wounded on both sides. At the time of the evacuation of St. Domingo, several French families accompanied the other

fugitives to Jamaica, and several of them have been active agents in promoting among the natives a spirit of discontent and a wish for revolution. Some officers who were taken during the time our forces were in St. Domingo have obtained their liberty and joined their respective regiments in Jamaica; among them is a major, a friend of Hovenden's. This gentleman relates several conversations with General Toussaint on the practicability of invading Jamaica. The General repeatedly declared that such design was a favourite object with the French Government, and that their friends and emissaries in the island were contributing hastily to facilitate the plan, which would soon be ready to execute.

The Rev. Dr. Troy to Mr. R. Marshall.

Dublin, October 12, 1799.

My dear Sir—I sit down to mention some particulars, for Lord Castlereagh's information, which I think it a duty to communicate, and shall begin by remarking that the enclosed half-sheet was published by M'Kenzie, in College Green, and most industriously circulated in all parts of the kingdom. Before it was published in this form, Lord Castlereagh had told Dr. Moylan that he had received a declaration, somewhat similar, from the Sheriff of the County Wexford, with a request to have it published by Government, which his Lordship, very wisely, did not comply with, from a conviction that such a publication, in these times, could only fan the flame of party rage, without producing any good effect whatever.

After reading it with astonishment and concern, I wrote to Dr. Caulfield for information on the subject. The following is his answer verbatim, in his letter to me, dated Wexford, September 30, 1799:—

"I am pestered with packets of Beaghan's declaration from Dublin by post, under anonymous covers, filled with the most abusive language and threats, for which I likewise pay the

postage. This Beaghan, or Beahan, had been described to me, some weeks before his execution, as little better than an idiot, but infected with some mischievous dispositions. I had this account of him from a respectable person, who lodged in the house where Beaghan was a servant. However, when sentence of death was pronounced against him, he sent for a priest, who attended him on the day before, and on the very day of his execution, in the jail here, when he appeared (though somewhat wild and scared) very penitent, and received the sacrament with apparent devotion. During these two days, Mr. Boyd and Sheriff Wilson visited him, and, as he told the priest, questioned him, 'Were there arms still concealed in the country?' He answered he did not know, that perhaps there might be; but, if there were, they could never appear, they could never be found. They then asked him, 'Were there many priests at the camp of Vinegar Hill, particularly were there any of the Wexford town clergy there?' Answer, No, he saw no clergymen there, but Kearns and General Murphy. This is Beaghan's declaration to the priest. No clergyman attended at the execution; but, immediately before it took place, Mr. Boyd asked the convict, in the presence of all that attended, 'Was the declaration he had made to him true?' (but mentioned no particular). Beaghan answered, it was—that he might rely on every word of it. Now, I leave you to judge whether, from these materials, any last speech might not be framed, let who will believe or condemn it." So far Doctor Caulfield.

Another publication or edition of Beahan's declaration has appeared in the Dublin Journal of Tuesday last, which I likewise enclose. It differs only in substance from M'Kenzie's in omitting explicit mention of the priests. Any person believing either must naturally, and indeed justly too, wish the extermination of Catholics in this kingdom. Judge then of the impression it must make on those who rejoice at any pretext to calumniate and persecute them. There were too many guilty, not from a principle of their religion, which inculcates the

forgiveness even of enemies, but from the want of any religion, which made them the dupes of atheists, freethinkers, and traitors.

The guilty cannot be too severely punished, but it is as impolitic as it is cruel and uncharitable to confound them with the innocent and loyal. Of these there were many, even in the County of Wexford. It may, therefore, be reasonably concluded that, if Beaghan really made the declaration in question, he must have been stupidly insensible.

In consequence of my conversations with Lord Castlereagh and Colonel Littlehales, about the intended Proclamation of Council against chapel-burners, &c., in the County of Wexford, I assured Dr. Caulfield it would be issued. It has not yet appeared, nor can it now, until the return of his Excellency from the North. On inquiry at the Council Office, Mr. M'Kay informed me that the affidavits had been given to the Attorney-General, who is in the County Tipperary. I am disappointed and concerned at this unforeseen delay, not only because the Proclamation was expected in the country with anxiety, but principally because the disaffected avail themselves of the occasion to impose on the ignorant, by artfully insinuating that Government is indifferent about them and their chapels, and leaves them defenceless against the excesses of a party peculiarly hostile to Catholics in that County.

The principle of reprobation and detestation of such outrages has been, as Lord Castlereagh observed to me, established by Government in the Proclamation issued against those who burned Kilmurry Chapel, in the County of Wicklow; but, as his Lordship added, it is necessary likewise to notice, in a particular manner, similar excesses in the County Wexford. I shall urge this at his Excellency's return hither, and hope Lord Castlereagh will assist me. I beg my best compliments and respects to his Lordship.

You will observe, by our public papers, that the question of Union is daily gaining ground. The Catholics are coming

forward in different parts in favour of the measure, which the generality of them consider as their only protection against a faction seemingly intent on their defamation and destruction. I do not despair of an Address from the Catholics of this city, who, from local and other circumstances, have hitherto been silent, before the meeting of Parliament.

Excesses are daily committing in the County Wexford, and in the upper parts of the County Wicklow. Within the last and present months, two chapels have been burned and one greatly injured. Attempts were made to destroy others, but frustrated by the exertions of loyal dispassionate Protestants. I prevailed on a clergyman to go to Arklow, which had been without a priest since last December, when the Rev. Mr. Ryan was murdered. He went there with a strong protection from Government, which recommended him also to General Eustace and Colonel Cowper, of the Sligo Militia. The latter behaves as becomes a lover of peace, but candidly told the clergyman, Mr. Kearns, he could not control the violence of the yeomanry. Mr. Kearns was obliged to lodge at the inn. Every Catholic and well-disposed Protestant, however willing to accommodate him, refused it from dread of the consequences. He cannot go out by night, nor far from the town, and his life is threatened and his person insulted most opprobriously. Thus circumstanced, I cannot insist on his remaining there, nor can I expect that any clergyman will venture to replace him. Mr. Smith, a Protestant of the town, offered his barn to Mr. Kearns to celebrate mass in it, but without effect, as he was threatened with death for his humanity. Mr. Kearns officiates within the walls of the old chapel which was burned, protected by a military guard ordered by Colonel Cowper.

I could fill sheets in detailing similar instances of prejudice and violence in Wexford and Wicklow Counties, but I shall spare Lord Castlereagh and you the disgustful narrative. As to the General commanding in the Wicklow district, I wish he was employed in some county where rebellion had

not raged. Pardon the uncommon length of this letter, and believe me, with perfect esteem and regard,

Yours, &c., J. T. TROY.

PS. I took the liberty of desiring the Rev. Mr. Fallon, No. 9, Edward Street, Portman Square, London, to call on you, and of assuring him you would take charge of any parcel he might have to send me.

An Authentic Account of the Behaviour, Conduct, and Confession of James Beaghan, who was executed on Vinegar Hill, on Saturday, the 24th day of August, 1799, *taken before Christian Wilson, Esq., High Sheriff of the County of Wexford, and J. H. Lyster, Esq., one of the Justices of the Peace for the said County.*

The day but one before his execution, two Popish Priests went to visit him, and upon their entering his cell, he exclaimed against them in these words—"Begone from me, you accursed, who have been the cause of my eternal damnation; for, were it not for you, I never would have been guilty of murder!" Having so said, he turned from them, and requested that they might be put out; and, in some short time after, he requested Captain Boyd might be sent for, to whom he made the following confession.

"I, James Beaghan, acknowledge and confess that I am guilty of the crime for which I am to suffer, but that I did not commit it from ill will to the people that were murdered, but from the order of Luke Byrne:[1] I could not disobey him—no person dare refuse to obey the orders of the Commanders. I am sure that any man in command could save the lives of the poor; every man that was a Protestant was called an Orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the poorest man in the country. Before the Rebellion, I never heard there was any hatred between Roman Catholics and Protestants; they always lived peaceably toge-

[1] A Commander of the Rebels.

ther. I always found the Protestants better masters, and more indulgent landlords, than my own religion. During the Rebellion, I never saw any one interfere to prevent murder but one Byrne, who saved a man. I think all that were present were as guilty as those that perpetrated the murders. It was thinking that we were all equally guilty, that prevented me from flying the country. The women were numerous, and were as bad as the men. The Rebels treated the prisoners with great severity: very different from the way that I have been used in gaol. They thought it no more sin to kill a Protestant than a dog. Had it not been that they were so soon quashed, they would have fought with each other for the property of the Protestants: they were beginning before the battle of Vinegar Hill. Ever since the Rebellion, I never heard one of the Rebels express the least sorrow for what was done; on the contrary, I have heard them say, that they were sorry, whilst they had the power, they did not kill more, and that there were not half enough killed. I know that the Rebels were determined to rise, if the French should come; and I believe they did not give up half their arms. There are guns, bayonets, and pikes hid in the country.

"* * * [1] Now, gentlemen, remember what I tell you; if you and the Protestants are ever in the power of the Catholics again, as they are now in yours, they will not leave one of you alive; you will all go smack smooth; even them that campaigned with them, if things had gone well with them, would, in the end, have been killed; I have heard them say so many times."

Taken before us, August 23, 1799.

CHRISTIAN WILSON, Sheriff,
J. H. LYSTER, Justice P.

his
JAMES + BEAGHAN,
mark.

[1] "From this mark Beaghan spoke without having been asked any questions, and spoke with an earnestness and in a manner that showed his sincerity."

Having arrived at the place of execution, Captain Boyd brought him aside, and read his confession, and asked him if it was correctly taken down, to which he answered in the affirmative. Just as the executioner was about to turn him off, he called out, saying, "Stop!" and, lifting up his cap, said, with a very loud voice, "Captain Boyd, you have taken down my confession perfectly correct: if it was not for the Priests, I never would have been guilty of murder, nor have dragged five unfortunate persons out of the windmill to be murdered." Amongst these five was the son of old Minchin, the carpenter.

To the Printer of the Dublin Journal.

Sir—Having lately seen a printed paper, purporting to be an authentic account of the behaviour, conduct, and confession of James Beaghan, who was executed on Vinegar Hill, on Saturday, the 24th day of August, 1799, taken before Christian Wilson, Esq., High Sheriff of the County of Wexford, J. H. Lyster, and James Boyd, Esqs., two of the Justices of Peace for the said County, we think it incumbent on us thus publicly to declare that the said account was printed without our consent or knowledge: and that there are parts of it of the truth of which we are wholly ignorant. To prevent further misrepresentation, we think it proper to state what did pass within our knowledge.

On the trial of James Beaghan, when the facts were clearly proved against him, he exclaimed (in a manner that struck every one in Court most forcibly) that he would, before he died, tell all he knew. This expression gave hopes that he might make useful discoveries, and induced us to go to him the night before the execution: we found him impressed with a proper sense of his unhappy situation, and as penitent as any criminal we ever witnessed. He told us he knew that the only reparation he could then make for his crimes was freely to acknowledge and confess all he knew; and he declared he would, with the strictest regard to truth, answer every ques-

tion we asked him. Our wish was to find out what induced the Rebels to commit such cruelties, and whether they were now convinced that they had been misled by those who had encouraged them. For this purpose we asked him several questions, to which his answers were as follows:—I acknowledge and confess that I am guilty of the crime for which I am to suffer; but that I did not commit it from ill will to the people who were murdered, but from the order of Luke Byrne. I could not disobey him—no one dare refuse to obey the orders of the Commanders. We were told that every Protestant was an Orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the poorest man in the County. They thought it no more sin to kill a Protestant than a dog. Before the Rebellion, I never heard there was any hatred between Roman Catholics and Protestants; they always lived peaceably together. I always found the Protestants better masters, and more indulgent landlords, than those of our own religion. During the Rebellion, I never knew any one interfere to prevent murder but one Byrne, who saved a man. I am sure that any man in command could save the lives of the poor people. I did not fly the country, because I thought that all that were present were as guilty as those who committed the murders; for what was the difference, if they did not try to prevent them? The women were numerous, and as bad as the men: in short, if you took up every Catholic in the County, you would not be astray. I never, since the Rebellion, heard one of the Rebels express the least sorrow for what was done; on the contrary, I have heard them say that they were sorry, whilst they had the power, they had not killed more, and that there were not half enough killed. They treated their prisoners with great severity: very different from the way I have been used in gaol. Had they not been so soon quashed, they would have fought with each other for the property of the Protestants: they were beginning before the battle of Vinegar Hill. I know they are determined to rise, if the French should come; and believe they did not

give up their arms: there are guns, bayonets, and pikes hid in the country.

Here we ceased to put any question to him, but he, of his own accord, came up to the table at which we were seated, and, in a solemn and impressive manner, addressed us;—"Now, gentlemen, remember the words of a dying man—remember what I tell you—if you and the Protestants are ever in the power of the Catholics again, as they are now in yours, they will not leave one of you alive; you will all go smack smooth—even those that campaigned with them, if things had gone well with them, would in the end have been killed. I have heard them say so many times."

CHRISTIAN WILSON, Sheriff.
JOHN H. LYSTER.

On the 24th of August last, I was ordered, with my corps, to proceed to Vinegar Hill, where James Beaghan was to be executed. I there asked him, in the presence of two officers, if what he told the Sheriff the day before was true. He said it was. When he was on the ladder and the cap over his face, he requested it might be lifted up, and that I might be called. I accordingly went up the ladder to him, when he addressed me in a solemn manner, and said, "Captain Boyd, this is an awful moment, in which I would not venture a lie; as I am a dying man, I declare every word I told the Sheriff was strictly true." I asked him if he wished I should tell the people what he said. He replied in the affirmative. I immediately did so, when the unhappy man cried out as loud as he could, "Yes, yes, it is true!" These were his last words.[1]

JAMES BOYD, Captain, Wexford Cavalry.

[1] The Rev. Doctors Troy and Caulfield, Roman Catholic Bishops, it will be observed, would fain have it thought that Beaghan, a member of their own communion, was "little better than idiot." How little ground there can be for this plea, in extenuation, must be evident from the testimony of the magistrates, who attended his execution, which exhibits no indications of an unsound or even of a weak mind.

Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, October 14, 1799.

My Lord—In the last letter which I had from Colonel Littlehales, he says that his Excellency wishes that I should write to your Lordship upon the subject of the probable scarcity of corn in this kingdom, and the expediency of stopping the distilleries, which are now working with double activity, with a view to exporting the spirits to Great Britain.

The accounts from all parts of the country agree in the ruinous state of the harvest, and the prices are already considerably raised. Our Commissary-General sells damaged flour for a higher price than he bought it good.

His Excellency is very desirous that a stop should be put to distilling; but I believe this cannot be done but by an act of Parliament. I send your Lordship the Corn Acts, as you may wish, on this occasion, to refer to them; but I do not find that they give any power to the Lord-Lieutenant and Council to issue a Proclamation to this effect, nor, on inquiry, has such ever been issued here. It will, besides, materially affect the revenue in this country.

I wish your Lordship would see Claude Scott, who knows more than any other person of the mode by which supplies of corn can be had. He might manage to secure some cargoes for us; and it might happen that the corn should arrive here at such a time as should raise the opinion of the benefits which we derive from our communication with England.

Mr. Elliot arrived here last night. I have written to Mr. Cooke upon some matters which I do not repeat to your Lordship. I send you a letter which I had to-day from Stewart; and, if you are of his opinion as to the Tyrone and Donegal Resolutions, your Lordship will let me know.

Your very faithful, &c.,

ALEXANDER MARSDEN.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, October 17, 1799.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—The news brought by the last two mails is, indeed, most disheartening. Although there was reason to expect disaster in Switzerland, after the Archduke had withdrawn his wing from it, one was not prepared for such destructive and overwhelming defeats. I still cherish a hope that there may be much exaggeration in the French accounts: at the same time, it has not in general proved that their reports of victories have far exceeded the truth. These successes of the enemy will give great spirit and energy to the Rebels of this country. General Lake, who is recently returned from the North, says the people in that part of the kingdom never appeared more ripe for mischief. None of the information which Marsden has received affords any ground for believing that they are actuated by any immediate prospect of assistance from France; and Toler,[1] who is just come to town from Tipperary, seems confident that there will be no movement in that quarter without an invasion. A communication has been made to Marsden of an intended attack on Dublin, but I cannot conceive any credit is to be given to it.

You will have heard from Marsden that the Union is likely to meet with opposition in Roscommon, and that a meeting for the discussion of it is summoned for the 2d of next month. The Anti-Unionists here are, I suspect, beginning to rally again. I am told that they are setting on foot an Anti-Union newspaper. I understand, too, that a subscription has been commenced in some of the Clubs for defraying the expence of Bushe's seat.

[1] John Toler was appointed Solicitor-General in 1789, and succeeded Mr. Wolfe (Lord Kilwarden), as Attorney-General. In 1800, he was elevated to the Bench as Chief-Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and to the Peerage by the title of Baron, and, at a later period, Earl of Norbury.

The Lord-Lieutenant has decided for the lesser bounty, and Lord Westmeath, who is the only Colonel I have had an opportunity of seeing, is positive it will be sufficient.

Farewell! and believe me ever most truly yours,

W. E.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, October 18, 1799.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—Your letter of the 14th has just reached me, and I have lost no time in forwarding its enclosure to Lord Londonderry. I am truly sorry for your brother.[1] Considering, however, the nature of the service, and that he is unsparing of his person where there is danger, it is well it is not worse. I assure you I have, ever since he has been in Holland, felt very great anxiety about him. In a public point of view, I cannot help thinking it fortunate that the result of the action was not such as to encourage perseverance in the expedition. A progress in Holland, with a heavy waste of troops, would have been no advance towards the main object of the war.

I have nothing worth relating to tell you to-day. I am going immediately to meet the Lord-Lieutenant, who returns to-day to dinner.

The mail of the 15th is this moment arrived, and I find that it is known here that your brother is wounded; but Lord Londonderry will receive the intelligence by the express long before it can reach him through any other channel.

Farewell. I am glad to learn from Cooke's letters to Marsden that your business is going on rapidly. Your presence here is indubitably desirable; but, considering the importance of your present occupation, and that there are very few persons in Dublin, I cannot perceive any necessity for your

[1] The present Marquess of Londonderry, who accompanied the expedition sent, in September, to Holland, where he was severely wounded.

putting yourself to any inconvenient degree of haste with respect to your return.

Believe me ever most affectionately yours,

W. E.

Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Phœnix Park, Dublin, October 18, 1799.

My dear Lord—Lord Cornwallis has just returned to Dublin, and has received your Lordship's letter, with the melancholy account of our disasters in Holland. His Excellency sincerely hopes that Colonel Stewart's wound is slight. An express had been sent to Lord Londonderry to acquaint him with the situation of your brother, and that you have reason to hope that his wound is not very severe.

Lord Cornwallis's tour, I am confident, has been productive of the most salutary effects in the North, and will tend to forward essentially the great object in contemplation. His Excellency was addressed in favour of the measure in Antrim, Belfast, whence I wrote to your Lordship, Coleraine, Londonderry, Strabane, Lifford, Castlefin, and by the City and County of Londonderry. We this day passed through Drogheda; but the Speaker's friends, aware of his Excellency's visit, had frustrated the wishes of Mr. Smyth, the Vanhomrighs, &c., to address him.

I write in haste, but have the honour to remain, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Mr. Marshall's letter has this moment been delivered to me. The Lord-Lieutenant will write to the Duke of Portland to-morrow, by the messenger that brought his Grace's despatch.

Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, October 19, 1799.

My dear Lord—I wrote to you last night to acquaint you of Lord Cornwallis's return from his northern excursion. His

Excellency now desires me to say that in his letter of this day's date to the Duke of Portland, he has expressed himself unequivocally and decidedly against the suggestion which his Grace has thrown out of Russian troops being sent to Ireland. He considers this step, in all respects, objectionable, and that it would tend more to create internal disquietude than any measure that could be proposed, and its adoption would, in all probability, furnish an unanswerable argument to the Anti-Unionists, who would necessarily affirm that the Legislative Union could only be carried at the point of the bayonet by foreign troops.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, October 19, 1799.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—As Marsden is to write to you, he will, of course, send you all the particulars of the proceedings of the Common Council of Dublin, which was held yesterday, and at which a resolution was passed hostile to the Union. The resolution was afterwards confirmed by a meeting of the Aldermen. There were no more than nine Aldermen present, of whom, two only, Alexander and Exshaw, voted against the resolution. Alderman James divided with the majority, for which he ought to lose his employment. It is said to be in contemplation to summon another meeting of Aldermen in the course of a fortnight, for the purpose of obtaining a ratification of the late proceeding. I cannot help thinking that, by a little exertion, a majority might be secured in the Court of Aldermen; but Marsden tells me that Lees rather advises against any interference on the part of Government. I know not on what he grounds this opinion; but I am to see him to-morrow, and shall have an opportunity of talking with him on the subject.

The Lord-Lieutenant is returned, highly gratified with the

success of his excursion, and speaks very sanguinely of the progress of the Union in the North. An address from the Corporation and inhabitants of Monaghan was sent to him at Caledon, but, unfortunately, did not arrive till an hour after he was gone. If he had received it, he intended to have visited Monaghan. I hope, however, the address will be transmitted to Dublin, that it may be published for the mortification of Dawson. Lord Cornwallis states the province of Ulster to be in the most perfect tranquillity. The accounts from the South are very unpleasant, and seem to justify the apprehension of a rapid system of organization in that part of the kingdom. There is a letter, too, from the High Sheriff and several Magistrates of the King's County, suggesting the expediency of establishing military tribunals there.

Lord Cornwallis desires that no more cavalry may be sent to Ireland. As it will be practicable for the English Government, on the return of the Duke of York's army, to give us British troops, he hopes that the design of sending Russians will be relinquished. He thinks the measure might be made a subject of misrepresentation in the country by the Anti-Unionists; and, from the reports he has received of their want of discipline, he is apprehensive that they might commit great excesses and do much mischief.

Farewell. I am in the greatest haste.

Believe me, ever most truly yours,

W. E.

Do not neglect to send me any further accounts you may have of your brother.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord De Clifford.

Private. London, October 23, 1799.

My dear Lord—I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 21st this morning; and, as I cannot entertain a very sanguine hope, however much I should wish it, of having it in

my power to pay my respects at King's Weston, I trouble you with this letter as an imperfect substitute for what I should have wished to communicate to you in person.

I should do very great injustice to the Government of both countries, if I did not endeavour to impress on your Lordship the sense entertained by his Majesty's Ministers of the very decided and valuable support they have been in the habit of receiving from your Lordship, and their extreme anxiety that it should not be withdrawn on a measure, on which, in their judgment, the security of the Empire depends. They are fully sensible that, on a question of such magnitude, they cannot expect your Lordship to surrender your opinion to theirs; but, as they never had reason to apprehend that you felt any decided objection to the principle of the measure, they earnestly hope that the cordial disposition which has been shown by most of the counties and trading towns of Ireland, in the course of the summer, to the adoption of it, will remove much of your Lordship's apprehension of any serious discontents being likely to arise out of its agitation, and induce your Lordship to afford your assistance to his Majesty's Government on the present important occasion.

When I had the pleasure of seeing your Lordship in Dublin, I then mentioned to you my sanguine hope that the future representation of Ireland might be so managed as not to call on the individuals interested in the present system for any undue sacrifice of private interest for the public advantage. From the consideration the subject has since undergone, I can assure your Lordship that every person interested will receive a full compensation for their existing rights.

The impression that I had of the constitution of the Corporation of Kinsale led me to imagine that it was nearly as open at Downpatrick. The difficulty of applying compensation in that kind of borough is obvious: I am not without hopes, however, that the arrangement may be so made as to leave both Kinsale and Downpatrick represented by one

member each in the United Parliament, which would place those towns on a footing with the most considerable in Ireland (Dublin and Cork excepted), and in point of value, even to a person less connected with this country than your Lordship, must be admitted to equal, if *not* to exceed, that at which two Irish Boroughs could be estimated, even were they both of a description not likely to involve their patron in any expense to maintain them. I trust I have thrown out a sufficient outline for your Lordship's consideration. I shall be glad, as early as convenient, to be acquainted with your Lordship's sentiments on the subject, and I shall be happy to furnish explanation on other points connected with the measure on which your Lordship may wish to receive information.

I beg your Lordship to believe that I am always, &c.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Lord Castlereagh.

Phœnix Park, October 28, 1799.

My dear Lord—Your letter, dated the 24th, which I have received this morning, has afforded me great satisfaction. I had no doubt of Mr. Pitt's powers to accomplish the most difficult task, or of his disposition to act in the most liberal manner towards this country; but I was afraid that the various distresses of the times would have prevented his giving the unremitting attention which the nature of the business required, and that the conclusion was still distant.

Our accounts from the South continue to be of the same fluctuating nature as they have appeared for some time. One post brings expectation of an immediate rising, the next suffers that event to be more doubtful. Lake, who is at Clonmel, listens sometimes to the alarmists, and, at others, is more confident. I confess that I have no idea of a serious insurrection without the landing of a foreign force.

I have just learned that the Chancellor's steward has been

murdered at Mount Shannon: some of his labourers are taken up on suspicion.

Mr. Marsden to Lord Castlereagh.

Dublin Castle, October 29, 1799.

My Lord—I am sorry to find to-day that the account of the murder of the Chancellor's steward is confirmed. A letter has been written to Sir James Duff, desiring him to offer a reward, and use every exertion for the discovery of the murderers; and this day the Lord-Lieutenant has caused a Proclamation to be issued for the same purpose.

I mistook, in my letter of yesterday, when I spoke of Lord Belmore's having an interest in the Borough of Athboy—it is Lord Darnley's, and we have reason, I believe, to reckon upon his Lordship's support. His Excellency seems inclined to write to Lord D. to get the seat for Mr. Singleton.

We are not getting forward in Roscommon. One of the Kings came to town to-day, and I have had him spoken to about permitting his agent to give encouragement to his tenantry to come forward, who, my friend there writes me, are not inclined to come forward without such intimation.

I send a list of persons who are likely to act hostilely, in case of a County meeting in Donegal.

Colonel Littlehales will no doubt send your Lordship the substance of General Lake's letter, who mentions the renewal of houghing in the county of Tipperary, and the general bad appearances there. From the County of Limerick we have informations, which, if true, are sufficient to cause alarm. A letter from Mr. John Massey there is handed about to-day, giving but a bad account. In Dublin, there is not anything to be apprehended but from the lowest orders. I am sure there is not any executive nor leaders. Some combinations among the trades to raise wages add just now to the idleness and the cabal of the metropolis.

I send your Lordship the last returns of the prices of corn,

and must beg leave to say that I entirely concur with your Lordship in your opinion of the inexpediency of stopping the distilleries. A letter goes to the Duke of Portland, in answer to one from his Grace, inquiring whether we could spare any oats and beans to England, which has been civilly refused by his Excellency.

I have satisfaction in saying that our prospects as to corn improve. The last few days have been fine in the North; and a person who arrived from Derry to-day speaks of the harvest in the North as having assumed a better appearance. From the South we have not much cause to be uneasy at the quantity, whatever may be the quality.

Your Lordship's very faithful, &c.,

ALEXANDER MARSDEN.

Colonel Littlehales to Lord Castlereagh.

Private. Dublin Castle, October 29, 1799.

My dear Lord—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, and, having laid it before Lord Cornwallis, I am to express to you his satisfaction in learning that you concur with him in thinking that the remonstrance he had made against any of the Russian corps being sent to Ireland was proper and judicious.

My Lord-Lieutenant has given permission to two Colonels of Scotch Fencible Regiments to augment their respective corps; and Sir John Sinclair will, in like manner, probably obtain the same indulgence, and to add two additional companies to his regiment: but, in any communication which you may have with Mr. Dundas on this subject, his Excellency desires me to intimate that, in his opinion, Fencible Corps, as the sole *permanent* force in this country, must be very inadequate to its defence, and far inferior, in all respects, to well-trained regiments of the line. He never can place a firm reliance on any armed force whose officers are not profession-

ally soldiers, and whose habits of life and pursuits have been, and are expected again to become, different from those of military men, who have no other object in view. Lord Cornwallis has merely enjoined me to suggest his sentiments upon this occasion to your Lordship, as he would be sorry to confide implicitly in any Fencible force, in the event of the disposable force, which, it is presumed, will speedily be ordered to this kingdom, being withdrawn.

General Lake reports to me that the Carmarthenshire and 2nd West York regiments are arrived at Waterford. He also states that some cattle have been houghed, or piked, near Castle Otway.

I congratulate you on the laurels which Colonel Stewart has achieved; and I have the honour to remain, &c.,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

The Rev. Dr. Plunkett, titular Bishop of Meath, to Lord Castlereagh.

Navan, October 29, 1799.

My Lord,—I am but lately returned from my annual visitation, and such have been my avocations until now, that it was not well in my power immediately to answer the letter of the 22nd instant your Lordship did me the honour to write to me.

The motives which your Lordship assigns to induce the Roman Catholics of Ireland to address in favour of a legislative Union with Great Britain are strong and forcible: they have often occurred to me these few months past, and have made a deep impression upon my mind. The sketch which accompanies your Lordship's letter of an address to be founded on these motives conveys a clear outline of the substance of what ought to be said on the occasion. On the part of the Roman Catholic clergy, there is no obstacle to the wish expressed by your Lordship. The obstacle is on the part of the inhabitants of this County in general. The Roman Catholics of

Meath are too near Dublin, and too much accustomed to listen to the opinions of the Protestants of Meath, to be as yet willing to declare in favour of the Union. They are not strangers to the principal arguments used to oppose it, and many of them believe these arguments to be unanswerable. The clergy depend upon the people, and they say here they would act imprudently did they wound the feelings of their respective flocks by stepping beyond their own sphere, and abetting a system to which the people are not yet reconciled. "We cannot separate from our parishioners," add they. "In political questions, it becomes us rather to *follow* than to *lead*." To this kind of reasoning, my Lord, I must confess, it is not easy to reply. For my part, I will heartily join the Roman Catholics of Meath the instant they will show a disposition to declare in favour of the Union. Until then, your Lordship perceives I must content myself with defending and supporting the measure when opportunities offer of doing so with advantage.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

C. J. PLUNKETT.

Mr. Elliot to Lord Castlereagh.

Wednesday, October 30, 1799.

My dear Lord Castlereagh—You have been very kind in sending me the copy of Sir Ralph Abercromby's letter; and I assure you that no one can participate more sincerely and cordially than I do in the gratification you must derive from it. Sir Ralph, as we all know, is not a courtier: and nothing short of eminent merit could have drawn from him such high and unqualified praise. I feel great satisfaction, too, in Sir Ralph's having addressed his letter to Lord Camden.[1]

I have nothing of importance to communicate. King, the

[1] The letter in question related to the military conduct of the Editor in the brief campaign in Holland; and I need not say how peculiarly grateful to the young soldier it was to be so noticed by such a Commander.

Member for Belturbet, is dead, which opens one of Lord Belmore's seats. It has been reported that Grattan is to be returned for it; but I believe there is not the least foundation for the rumour. Marsden tells me that he saw a man to-day from the South, who occasionally gives Cooke information of the state of the country. He is a person employed in recruiting, and has therefore the means of procuring useful intelligence, if he is to be depended on. He says that, though there is much mischief in the South, there are not many of the old leaders of the conspiracy left, and the few who remain are afraid of acting; that there are a few new leaders, but that they are persons of no weight or importance; and that he does not think there is any probability of insurrection, unless in the event of an invasion. He asserts positively that money has been remitted to the County of Wexford and the adjacent parts of the kingdom from Dublin by the Anti-Unionist party, for political purposes. The Bishop of Killala mentions, in a letter to Marsden, that Sir James Duff had stated in a note which the Bishop had received from him, that he had some hope of discovering the perpetrators of the horrid murder committed at Mount Shannon, and that he suspected some of the servants. This, however, is so vague and loose an account, that I beg you will not mention it to the Chancellor.

Believe me ever most affectionately yours,

WILLIAM ELLIOT

The Earl of Shannon to Lord Castlereagh.

Castle Martyr, November 12, 1799.

My dear Lord—Your Lordship's most obliging letter of the 3rd, in which you have been so kind as to honour me with your communication of the outline of what has appeared most desirable to his Majesty's ministers on the subject of representation on the taking place of the Union, did not arrive here till late yesterday, with the five English mails then due. For this instance of your Lordship's confidence and attention, I

beg to offer my best acknowledgments, which I direct to London, though under the uncertainty of their overtaking you there.

The arrangement mentioned by your Lordship, as far as I am capable of judging, is as unexceptionably planned as the nature of it could admit of; and I doubt not that, when the measure comes to be offered to the kingdom in the detail, the terms will be such as to reflect honour upon its supporters.

Your Lordship stands in a more highly arduous situation than has ever yet fallen to the lot of any minister in this kingdom, having, exclusive of the magnitude of the subject, to contend with adversaries who have not been ashamed to rely upon clamour and misrepresentation, yet, however loud in invective, will be found weak in argument and public estimation. I wish your Lordship a safe return to this kingdom, in which, I trust, you will find that honourable support that your exertions for its true interest so well deserve.

I have the honour to remain, with sincerest good wishes, my dear Lord,

Your most obliged, &c.,

SHANNON.

END OF VOL. II.

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F. Shoberl, Jun., Rupert Street.

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